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DIARY
OF
AN AUSTRIAN SECRETARY OF
LEGATION

AT THE
COURT OF CZAR PETER THE GREAT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN

AND EDITED BY

THE COUNT MAC DONNELL,
K. S. J. J., &c., &c., &c.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

LONDON:
BRADBURY & EVANS, 11, BOUVERIE STREET.
1863.

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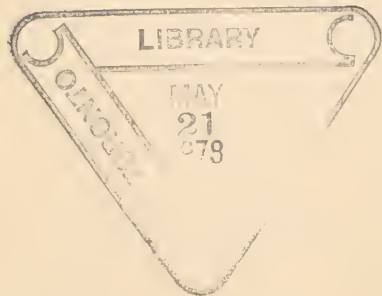
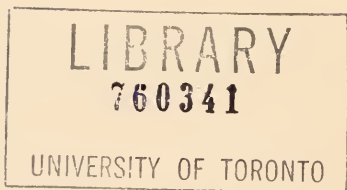
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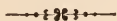
LONDON :

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The Diary of

AN AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF MOSCOW.



MAY 1.—We tasted to-day, for the first time, the fish dried in the air, which the Samoïeds eat instead of bread.

2.—No letters are allowed to leave Azow or Veroneje for Moscow; hence there is a dark rumour that fifty of the Azow rebels were put to death at Veroneje.

3.—The Czar claims the monopoly of the sale of brandy.* Some of the lower orders—

* It is still a state monopoly in Russia Proper: not so in Russian Poland, where the landed proprietors were never deprived of the monopoly of baking, and of that of distillation and sale (*propinatio*) of intoxicating drinks for the vassals of their respective seignories. Indeed, the fabrication and sale of strong liquors, farmed out usually to Jews, forms often no small proportion of the income of a Polish nobleman's ill-managed estate. The usurious Jews, to whom noble and serf alike are ignominiously tributary, immorally entice the peasants to drunken-

those called Jemskoi—were offering it for sale in their private houses, contrary to the express inhibition of the Czar. So the Treasurer, Peter Ivanowicz Proforowski, wanting to chastise them, had fifty soldiers at his orders that he had asked of General Gordon. Along with these he sent a scribe, armed with a warrant to seize as contraband and bring to the Czar's stores all the brandy they could find in such places. But when they attempted to put the warrant in execution, a mob of Jemskoi assembled; and, repelling force by force, killed three soldiers by running them through, and wounded several. The Jemskoi, moreover, threatened fiercer vengeance if such another seizure should be attempted. The daring of this conduct is such, that it keeps the authorities of the city in great anxiety whether it is better to employ force or dissemble.

5.—When one of the footmen belonging to the Danish Envoy was going to Sbofleck, a Russian shouted an opprobrious name at him.

ness, and cheat them, of course. These privileges of seignorial monopoly, and this miserable servitude to the usurious Jews, both grew up, in times out of mind, under the old national government of Poland.—TRANSLATOR.

The footman at once sprang from his horse to strike the fellow for the insult: for the word was a contumelious one that they address to the Germans. But the Russian ran away, and called up the Guard, saying that the German was on the point of murdering him, and that he was a robber. The soldiers roused by this story ran up, arrested the footman, and brought him as a robber to the Pricassa; where, his innocence being manifest, he was, on payment of one griffna, allowed to return home.

Everything is in confusion in Muscovy. The Czar, at leaving, commended the safe keeping and prefecture of the city to Knes Tzerkaski. To Gordon he said: "To thee, meanwhile, I commit everything: everything is entrusted to your hands and to your loyalty." But some scribe arrogates to himself the supreme military direction which belonged to Knes Romadonowski, pretending that it devolved upon him at the departure of the latter, and consequently that cognisance of everything is of his competency.

6.—Count Bergamini, who had come to Muscovy at great cost to pay his court to the Czar,

was actually on his way to Veroneje, when hearing that the Czar was no longer there, he came back at once, and to-day obtained his passport to return to Poland.

7, 8, 9, 10, 11.—To our very great delight, the most clement Imperial letters of recall came by the post. About one o'clock at night a great storm arose—thunder, lightning, rain, and wind raged with incredible violence throughout the night.

12.—The Calmuck Ambassador of the Tartars was honoured with a Czar's entertainment—flender enough and in suit with the manners of the receiver.

At last, leave is given to the four Franciscan fathers to go through Persia to China. The Czar had indeed given orders that these fathers should be provided with a ship and all the provisions they might want as far as the Caspian Sea, in the same way as the Archbishop of Ancyra was previously furnished. But Galizin, the Viceroy of Cassan and Astracan, whose business this was, as soon as the Czar had left for Azow would give them nothing of the kind. Thus it became incumbent on the Lord Envoy Extraordinary

to make the outlay, and with signal Christian charity he procured for them as well a ship as a supply of provisions,—wine, beer, brandy, meat, bread, flour,—with a capital store of which they began their journey.

13, 14.—Notice came by a sure messenger that Dumnoi Emilian Ignatowicz Ukrainzow, whom the Czar has appointed Envoy Extraordinary, was about going by the Black Sea to Constantinople, and that His Majesty the Czar would accompany him as far as the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or the Straits of Kaffa. With reference to this mission, on which the Dumnoi is sent to ratify the peace which Procop Wosnizin had haughtily and imprudently neglected, a certain person made the following witty remark: “It seems to me just like as if a fool had broken a pane of glass, and a man of sense were obliged to make it whole again.”

Dumnoi Andrew Artemonowicz, whose father was thrown by the rebel Strelitz out of a window of the Castle of the Kremlin, received upon lances and murdered, was named Ambassador in ordinary to their High Mightinesses the States of Holland, and has the Czar’s commands to re-

main there with his wife and children for three years. Eight sons of Boyars go along with him, to acquire a knowledge during that time of seamanship and naval matters.

15.—A hundred and fifty vessels, laden with barley and oats, have come here by the river Wolga. Three hundred are following them with cargoes of wheat.

When the Czar was leaving Veroneje for Azow, and was already on board, that Alexander, who is so conspicuous at court through the Czar's graces, was whispering something in his ear, which put the Czar in a sudden passion, and he inflicted some boxes on his importunate monitor, so that he lay stretched at full length, quite like a dying man at the feet of irate Majesty.

The mutiny of the garrison of Azow gained strength with its duration. The mutineers demand an oath from him whom they should revere as the arbiter of life and death. But what have treasonable subjects, after trampling on the authority of their prince, ever left whole, untouched, and undared? It is a solace to those whose unholy disobedience has thus lost them,

to leave nothing untried, that daring can suggest, which may avail them to conjure the ruin which they have called down upon themselves. Although the Czar saw, with a great sense of grief, his dignity compromised by treason, nevertheless, he did not reject the condition put to him, nor the oath which was exacted as its guarantee; lest, by obstinately upholding His Majesty, he should open the way to peril of worse evils. He descended to make a pact with his subjects, and, repeating the words after them, bound himself by his royal truth and dignity, that all the Strelitz in the city of Azow should go unpunished. It remains to be seen whether he will adhere to this pledge given under compulsion. For what is extorted wrongfully from princes they often requite by another wrong, nor do they consider themselves in justice bound to their own injury.

16, 17.—Several days of continual rain have rendered the streets in the German Slowoda impassable: carts are lying about everywhere so deep in the mud that the horses were unable to draw them out.

18.—General de Gordon, and the Colonel,

his son ; Colonel Acchenton, Colonel de Grage ; the two missionaries—Doctor Carbonari and Mr. Guaſconi—met at the Lord Envoy-Extraordinary's, to consult about keeping up the Church and the Catholic community. The care of the money matters of the Church is committed to General de Gordon and Mr. Guaſconi.

19.—They celebrated to-day with the greatest pomp, the festival of Saint Nicholas, patron of Muscovy, which is the grand *Brasnick* of the Russians. It is quite shameful—they think it, in fact, unworthy of them—not to reel with wine or brandy on this day, for the greater the solemnity of the festival the more correct they consider it to give themselves up to drunkenness and other gratifications. This night, as the Envoy of Denmark came back from Veroneje, when he arrived at the gate, a dispute arose about money which the soldiers insisted upon—what is called *das Sper-Geld*—for he refused to pay for the soldiers that the Czar had given him as an escort.

20.—The Envoy of Denmark told among other stories the following. That two German

colonels who were accused by a Muscovite of treason, imprisoned and subjected to the worst tortures of the rack, could not be made to confess the crime which the informer had laid to their charge. Meanwhile the Russian had repented of his false accusation, and with the same effrontery as he before had accused these innocent men, he made known to the Czar that the Germans had been wrongfully tortured, and that it was only his envy that made him accuse innocent men of such a heinous offence. This atrocious man's malice put the Czar in such a heat of indignation, that he struck off his hateful head, as he richly deserved.

The soldiers of the regiment of Bebraschentsko are divided among the ships. They say that the vessel to which none but the Czar and his principal Boyars put a hand, is unique, and the handsomest of his Majesty's fleet.

21, 22.—On account of the loss of his palace, which was burnt down in the late fire, Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin got leave of absence from the Czar, and came back to Moscow from Veroneje.

23.—The secretary was sent very early in the

morning to the Boyar, just named, with the following message, to say that the Lord Envoy Extraordinary congratulated the Boyar on his happy return from Veroneje, and would be extremely glad to have another interview with him in his capacity as Prime Minister of the Muscovites; that he trusted the letters he had written to him had reached him safely, but as he had as yet no answer to them, and subsequent commands had arrived meantime from the Most August the Emperor, he desired an occasion of conferring with him in reference to them, and consequently begged that the Boyar would have the kindness to appoint a convenient time to call upon him. To these points the Boyar replied; that he returned thanks for these polite attentions, and with his reciprocal salutations to the Lord Envoy, that he had received the letters which notified the marriage of the King of the Romans, and that he would take care to appoint a convenient time for conference. He also inquired why the Lord Envoy would not come to Veroneje, saying that the Czar's orders to summon him thither had been sent to Moscow, and further that the Czar had waited six days for his arrival. But this

appeared paradoxical ; for where were the letters?—where had the orders come?—what courier brought the letters?—why had there been no question on the subject? For the Lord Envoy had heard nothing of all these things. But another explanation was given that wore a greater semblance of truth,—that these orders had been sent enclosed to Dumnoi Ukrainzow to intimate them properly, and as the letters did not reach Moscow until Dumnoi was on the road to Veroneje, they had been sent thither after him by another link of the chain of accidents. The circumstances of the time made it advisable to accept, in a straightforward credulous way the excuse alleged, without questioning its truth.

24.—The Brandenburg resident, Timothy de Zadora Kesielski, had gone for the purpose of speaking to Boyar Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin. After a whole hour's patience, the Boyar at last came into the antechamber, where he knew he was waited for. When he looked at the Resident, as if he wondered at his being there, he rudely questioned him with this haughty address :
“What dost thou want?” To which the Resi-

dent answered : “ Thou knowest that I have not come to beg a crust of bread from thee : if thou dost not consider the attention of my visit an honour to thee, I shall dispense myself in future of that trouble.” The unexpected tartness of the answer struck the Boyar so home, that in a harsh and contemptuous tone he was beginning to taunt the Resident, saying ; “ What durst thou say to me, thou petty little Chamberlain ? ” Upon which the Resident, with no less warmth, instantly retorted : “ I hold myself highly honoured in being a Chamberlain of my most Serene Prince. If the rank I hold be beneath thy ambition, he that sent me could confer a higher upon me, but it would be difficult for him to confer any which the impotency of your stilted mind would not despise as far beneath you.”

26.—Sixteen hundred roubles in ready money, and sixteen hundred more in sable furs, were delivered to Dumnoi Ukrainzow, for the expenses of his journey to Constantinople. At length the council of Boyars begin to entertain more practical ideas about the ratification of peace. The Czar has determined to call upon the brotherly friendship of the Most August

Emperor, in order to obtain fair conditions through his salutary offices.

27, 28, 29.—The miner Urban has at length, after his long and squalid imprisonment, been restored to liberty once more; and though an express mandate of the Czar for his liberation, which was granted as a favour at the Lord Envoy's solicitation, commanded that he should be set free without ransom, nevertheless he had to pay a bribe of fifteen roubles to the Diak and scribes for his liberty. Nothing is safe in Muscovy from these harpies.

30, 31.—A hundred and fifty Strelitz brought here from the camp at Azow.

Y
JUNE 1.—The Brandenburg Resident entertained the Imperial Lord Envoy and the Dumnoi of the Siberian *Pricassá*, Wignius. The same day the Danish Envoy received at dinner Andrew Artemonowicz, the Ambassador Designate to the States of Holland.

2.—Half the Lord Envoy's servants went with the Missionary, Mr. John Berula, to the monastery called Jerusalem, six German miles distant from Moscow.

3.—Mr. John Caffagrande, the Missionary of the Venetian Shipbuilders, who was sent from this to Veroneje, a year ago, along with Baron de Burchersdorff, who was then setting out for Azow, has died there, and his body, which was sent back to Moscow by command of the Czar himself, arrived on the very day of the month on which he left this city in order to fulfil the duties and functions of his holy mission, which he presided over so as to earn everybody's good word, and give universal edification.

4, 5.—The body of the deceased Missionary was interred in the garden of the Imperial Missionaries, near the Gordon tomb. The Lord Envoy Extraordinary and all his suite, besides a great many other Catholics, were pleased to attend the funeral.

6.—Michael-Louis de Buchan, Captain in Beist's regiment of horse, was sent to His Majesty the Czar, from the King of Poland, and being about to start immediately for Azow with letters of great importance, dined at our table.

Doubtful reports came by letters that the Czar's Ambassador Prokop, who lately departed

with the highest honours from the Imperial Court, is either dead on the road, or lying dangerously ill at Königsberg: pestilent fruit of an ill weed.*

To-day being the feast of Pentecost, branches and foliage of trees were blessed by the Russian priests [*a Ruthenorum mystis*]; and this is the only day on which they pray for God's aid kneeling; on every other festival they say their usual prayers standing erect. They account for it by saying that the Apostles and all the disciples of our Redeemer prostrated themselves upon the earth at the time of the coming of the Holy Ghost—and thence they took a handle to bless all the fruits of the earth.

8, 9.—The Lord Envoy Extraordinary drove out to the Monastery dedicated to the Most Holy Resurrection, distant six German miles from Moscow. The Bazilian monks took the most laudable pains to receive the Lord Envoy honourably. They served up with most lavish politeness a vast quantity of fresh fish out of their own fishponds, beer, brandy, and dishes dressed

* “*Malæ herbæ pessimus fructus.*”—ORIG.

in the Russian fashion. The Czar's ministers had recommended the monks to show all this civility of polite preparation.

10.—We were led by a monk through the monastery, which is enclosed with huge walls. The refectories for the whole community were shown to us, as were the cells of the monks; the latter are separated by a very thin partition. The church is a large and very noble pile, sumptuously built by the Patriarch Nichon, and, carried out exactly on the model of that on Mount Calvary in Jerusalem, represents every circumstance of Christ's passion, in different chapels. While we were examining the church at our leisure, Wignius arrived with the Brandenburg Resident, in company with whom we had our dinner here; at which a Russian Pole, who spoke good Latin, and two other monks high in office, were present; after which we set off to an estate of his (Wignius's), that lay some miles further on. His house, constructed of brick, is built with various conveniences. The stream that glides past it, and the wide open fields around it, afforded a charming view. We first amused ourselves delightfully boating, and en-

ting the unwary fish into the cunning net, a diversion all the more pleasant, when we knew we should have them to supper, for which it was delightful to catch them. Our host omitted none of those attentions that might denote sincere affection and truth.

11.—After fowling and dinner duly performed, and friendly greetings had been mutually exchanged, the Brandenburg Resident desired to return to Moscow, along with the Imperial Lord Envoy. At a village called Angeliko, on an estate belonging to the monastery, we passed that night.

12.—After accomplishing four miles, we reached Moscow, and the Ambassadorial Palace, at about ten in the day. In a grove, an hour distant from the city—where the Germans are in the habit of going to amuse themselves—there grew so hot a quarrel between Captains Erchel and Printz, that swords were drawn, and wounds given on both sides.

13.—The feast of St. Anthony of Padua solemnly celebrated.

14.—With unaccustomed civility Diak Boris Michalowicz, that was sometime resident at

Warsaw, was sent by Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin to the Lord Envoy to inquire after the state of his health.

15.—Again came Boris Michalowicz to the Lord Envoy with precisely the same civil errand as yesterday. Two Russians with a complete specification of the whole sea fleet, deserted to the Tartars from Banzina. Though it appeared that no blame for this desertion could be imputed to the Vice-Commandant (whom they style Sotik),* nevertheless by order of the Czar he was *hanged*, for not being sharp enough in preventing the criminals in their design. But what Argus could have eyes enough for the malicious wiles of traitors?

16.—Again came Boris Michalowicz, by command of Nareskin, announcing that the time for the conference solicited, would shortly be appointed. The Grand Embassy of the Swedes halted near the borders of Moscovy; hence orders are despatched to the Woivodes of the frontier cities to impress 450 *potwoda*.

17.—Conference had by the Lord Envoy with Nareskin touching the notification of the

* Sotnik.

marriage of the Most Serene King of the Romans.

18, 19.—General de Gordon received all the English and Scotch merchants at dinner.

20.—Two houses in the German Slowoda, and some hundreds of dwellings in the city, were consumed by a most disastrous fire.

21, 22, 23, 24.—No time was allowed to the Venetian shipwrights to purify their consciences by sacramental confession, they are kept working as hard as they can by the Czar, toiling without rest at shipbuilding. Their priest, as I have already mentioned, died lately; but that they might not be destitute of the consolation of this annual devotion, the Imperial Missionary at Moscow, a man of great and most devoted zeal, yielded with the greatest readiness to their entreaties. When he was about starting for Veroneje, the ministry granted him four *potwoda* at the mediation of the Lord Envoy.

25.—The Lord Envoy honoured the espousals of Captain Rickmann with his presence.

26.—Major* de Straus celebrated his marriage with a cousin of the Danish Envoy.

* Supremis-Vigiliarum-præfectus, literally in German, *Oberst-*

27.—A boy caught in a theft committed suicide, out of fear of the penalty that awaited him.

28.—The Lord Envoy visited Prince* Szeremetow. It was noised abroad that Prokop had arrived, but extremely ill; so one of the chief scribes was despatched with an account to the Czar at Azow.

29, 30.—Mr. Schrader, pastor of the Sectaries of the Confession of Augsborg, breathed his last between eleven and twelve at night.

JULY 1, 2.—It remained for the Lord Envoy, according to the Imperial injunction and letters, to announce to His Majesty the Czar, the marriage contracted under such happy auspices some time since between the Most Serene the

wachtmeister, the title given to an Austrian major to the present day.—TRANSL.

* Szeremetow's rank was strictly that of Boyar, not Prince. The frequency of the use of the title Prince in this Diary to persons not belonging to the families strictly entitled to that rank, leads me to suppose that it was thus abusively given in Muscovite society to some of the great magnates of the Boyar class. Even now it is frequently usurped by petty Tartar and Calmuck and Georgian chieftains' families, settling or living in Russia.—(See Dolgoruki, *Notices des principales familles*, &c.)—TRANSL.

King of the Romans and Hungary, Joseph I., and the Most Serene Princess Wilhelmina-Amelia, Duchess of Brunswick and Luneburg.* May God grant, that those whom by his inscrutable bounty, for the weal of Christendom, the fruitful increase of the Most August House of Austria, the ineffable consolation of subject nations, and the most ardent prayers of good citizens, august love hath joined, may after the consummation of the newly begun century, be brought scatheless to old age, to live in the constant and most anxiously desired succession of most serene offspring, among the posterity of ages hereafter to come, with immortal fame for ever and aye.

The Czar's Majesty was absent—his avidity to acquire glory, which is his inmost desire, and the

* This princess was cousin-german to King George I., being daughter and co-heiress (with her sister, who married the Duke of Modena) of John Frederick, a Catholic, *third* son of George, Duke of Hanover: the *fourth* son, Ernest Augustus, Bishop of Osnaburg, and subsequently, by creation of the Emperor Leopold, Elector of Hanover, was father of George I. Her mother was daughter of Edward, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, brother of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, whose son George succeeded to the throne of England, as the nearest Protestant, to the exclusion of the nearer Catholic heirs; the eldest descendant of whom in our days is Francis V., Duke of Modena, as representative of the Princess Henrietta of England, sister of Charles II. and of James II.—TRANSL.

pleasure he takes in new ships, having summoned him with laudable impulse, nearly three hundred miles away to the Palus Meotides,* not far from the Straits of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.† Still the function demanded a solemnity which the Prime Minister, Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, prepared with becoming zeal. There was a six-horse coach of the Czar's for the Lord Envoy, and horses from the Czar's stables adorned with the customary glittering trappings. When the Lord Envoy reached the court-yard of the house where the Boyar had appointed to receive the letters of notification, he was met by two Diaks, who conducted him through many ante-chambers to the apartment destined for this solemn ceremony, in the vestibule of which the Boyar stood awaiting him. The officials of the Lord Envoy, for the greater dignity of the act, had taken their places standing along with a great crowd of the Czar's scribes in that room. But when the Boyar prayed of the Lord Envoy to be seated and the conference began, all were ordered out except Diak Bosnikow, the secretary, and the interpreter.

* The Sea of Azow.—TRANSL.

† The Straits of Jenikale.—TRANSL.

Mutual protestations ensued, in which assurances were interchanged that the sincere and fraternal love of the Most Clement Lords Principals should be always cultivated and kept up. The ceremony and polite offices being gone through, the Lord Envoy was led back by two Diaks to his coach, and by a *pristaw* to the Ambassadors' Palace ; and on driving past the Czar's castle, the soldiers on guard saluted with the customary presenting of arms and waving of colours.

3, 4.—St. John's day celebrated with the festive strains of the musicians in choir and street.

5, 6.—A Russian merchant claimed a debt of four roubles from a certain German for goods bought. When the German denied that he owed so much, the Russian with much vociferation, several times most atrociously calling on all the powers celestial and infernal to witness, endeavoured to prove his claim. So the German appointed the Russian arbiter on his proffered oath ; who thereupon entering the nearest church, falsely made the requisite oath. In a short time after he himself confessed that the German did not owe him four roubles, but only two ;

that the other two were due to him by another, also a German, and that he could claim them in turn. This is respect for an oath ! this is piety towards God ! the taking of whose name in vain is no scruple of conscience to this people.

7.—The Lord Envoy received letters written from the camp at Azow by the Lord Boyar, Feodor Alexiowicz Golowin, at the command of the Czar's Majesty, to the effect that His Majesty had given it in command to his minister residing here to dismiss the Lord Envoy with such degree of honours in the fullest manner in every respect, as had never hitherto fallen to the lot of any minister of the same rank.

8.—The Eve of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, was celebrated by the Muscovites with great festivities. The Czarewicz had appointed public prayers for the safety of His Most Serene Father the Czar.

9.—The Muscovites perform the annual festival of the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of the Czar, who was named Peter in baptism.

The Czar's castle of Ismailow, laid out most

agreeably for a summer residence, is surrounded by a grove of trees, not thickly planted, but growing to a prodigious height, and affording an admirable refuge beneath the cool shade of their lofty and spreading branches from the burning heat of summer. It pleased the Lord Envoy to go and see the delightful neighbourhood of this wood, to contemplate and enjoy the famous charms of the place. Musicians followed to aid the gentle whisperings of the woods and winds with sweeter harmonies. The Czarine, the Czarewicz, and the unmarried princesses, enticed by the gentle season of the year, were then staying at that castle, and they were fond of rambling through the dense thickets to the pleasant glades of the forest, and killing time in the sweet disports and forgetfulness of busy repose. It so happened that they were thus engaged at the moment when the sweet symphony of clarions and reed instruments gushed in gentlest measure upon their ears, and made them cease awhile from their occupation. The musicians grew ambitious upon finding themselves observed, and were giving satisfaction to the observers, and with most graceful emulation they strove one

with another who should bear off the palm in witching with his sweet skill, these ears Most Serene to longest forgetfulness. They remained a quarter of an hour, and praised exceedingly the skill of all the musicians.

10.—A Lithuanian Catholic boy, seduced by the Muscovites, fled from our kitchen to a certain Russian prince, to embrace the Russian religion, in the hope of getting a wife, as they had promised him upon that condition. Knes Repnin,* Colonel of the Dragoons,† and his servants, stung by some gad-fly to frenzy, broke violently in upon the city guard, and as he was on the point of snatching away the colours, the ensign received him upon his pike in the most creditable manner. Several others were wounded in the strife on both sides.

11.—In the evening a fire broke out not far from Nareskin's house, and reduced to ashes a

* Prince Anikita Repnin, who was a constant friend of Peter the Great. He rose to be a field-marshal. The family is extinct in the male line.—TRANSL.

† The Latin expression is, *dimacharum præfectus*. I suppose the author must mean dragoons, for *dimachæ*, or *διμαχαι*, were soldiers that fought both on foot and on horseback, as dragoons originally did.—TRANSL.

hundred and thirty houses between poor and handsome.

12.—Knes Boris Alexiowicz Galizin has come back from the frontiers of Casen and Astracan to Moscow.

13.—The boy that lately ran away was sent back by the Prime Minister to the Lord Envoy. During the Czar's absence the Prime Minister was empowered to give the Czar's re-credentials in the name and by the authority of His Majesty. Of the rest of their customary ceremonial hardly anything was omitted by them. An apartment was appointed in the Czar's castle for the performance of this ceremonial. There was a *pristaw*, the Czar's Vice-Master of the Horse, with an interpreter, a six-horse coach of the Czar's; horses gorgeously decked, as usual, with trappings of gold and silver, and a squadron of dragoons swelled the cortège. Guards were everywhere drawn up in long array, and waved their colours, and presented arms. The body-guards filled the court of the castle, as far as the vestibule of the first apartment, Lieutenant-Colonel de Colom, Messieurs de Bach and Erchel as Captains, performing their respective

functions. A son of the Boyar, along with Diak Bosnikow, received the Lord Envoy at the threshold, and conducted him to his father. When the re-credential letters were delivered, it was explained what the one wished to be announced to the Emperor, and what the other wished to be announced to the Czar, and placing a last wreath, the Lord Envoy commended himself, and all his suite, the Imperial Missionaries, and the whole Catholic community to the benig- nity of the Czar. The Czar's good grace being thereupon promised to all by the Boyar, Diak Bosnikow thus began :—" The Czar's Majesty deigns all his grace to the Lord Envoy, and has commanded that he shall not only receive out of his liberality the usual letters, but also a *pristaw*, an escort of soldiers, and *potwoda*, as far as the confines of Muscovy and Lithuania, and whatever else he desires to his full satisfaction. This being over, the Lord Envoy handed the Czar's re-credentials to the Secretary, and was led, with the most exquisite politeness, by the Prime Minister and his son, as far as the court, where the soldiers stood drawn up in array, and seated himself with the *pristaw* in the Czar's coach,

before which the Secretary rode upon a gorgeous steed, bearing the Czar's re-credentials, wrapped in red silk, brocaded with gold, held in such a way as that everybody could see them. Besides the Czarewicz, the Dowager Czarine, and other princesses of the Czar's court, were looking curiously out of their windows, at our entry into, and our exit from, the Kremlin castle.

14.—Came Diak Jacob Nikonow, having heard of the complaints of some of our people, who had been uncivilly affronted lately by the watch, and after previously examining the accused dragoons, condemned them all eight, notwithstanding the splendour of their birth—for they were noble—to the penalty of the *battok*. By order of the Czar the sentence was executed in the Court of the Ambassadorial Palace, the number of blows with which they were to be chastised was left to the arbitrement of those to whom their evil stars had led them to give very ill-treatment.

A Czar's banquet, not inferior in opulence and splendour to that given to us before, was carried to the Lord Envoy with the usual solemn

state and procession of two hundred men. After a sip of brandy, which was brought round in a cup made of a precious stone, the first toast was to the health of the Most August Emperor; the second, that of the Most Serene Czar; the third, of the Most Serene King of the Romans; the fourth, the Czarewicz; the fifth, the Lord Envoy. The mutual wordy compliments of the *pristaw* and of the Lord Envoy, consisted in protestations of sincere friendship.

15.—Those who had any part of care or trouble in yesterday's Imperial banquet, conference, and solemn dismissal, stood awaiting with most greedy hopes, the largesse of the Lord Envoy, and received gifts in proportion to their several functions.

16, 17, 18.—The Russians celebrated the festival of the Blessed Virgin of Casan. The Muscovites believe that the image which they venerate under that name had always been suspended in the clouds, and was seen by the entire Russian army that beleaguered Casan, during the whole time of the siege; but that after the city was stormed, the image fell from the sky to the ground, and was with the utmost reverence lifted

up by the Russians, and has ever since been held in worship.

About evening came the head scribe of the Ambassadors' Chancery, attended by many others from the same office, and distributed the Czar's presents, consisting of sable furs, to the Lord Envoy and the whole of his suite.

19, 20.—Yesterday and to-day leave-taking began; farewell being bidden to all that were familiar and intimate friends. Full-size portraits of their Imperial Majesties, the Emperor and Empress, of the Most Serene King of the Romans, and of the Most Serene Archduke Charles, were sent as a present to the Prime Minister, Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin.

21, 22.—Having performed the last civility of farewell visits in the German Slawoda, we all prepared for to-morrow's departure. The Lord Envoy has been several times invited by the Prime Minister to a feat of his called *Filli*, some *wersts* distant from Moscow.

At four miles distant from Moscow the Grand Swedish Embassy lay, awaiting the order for entering the city. For their suitable lodging there was assigned a house formerly inhabited

by popes, and commonly called *das Pfaffen-Haus*.

RETURN OF THE IMPERIAL LEGATION FROM MUSCOVY TO VIENNA.

JULY 23.—Although no such practice or custom be in force in any European Court, as accompanying the departure of the Ministers of foreign Princes with a public solemnity and extraordinary exhibition of pomp; so that for ages it had come to be considered a useless expence of public honours to wait on their departure with state or splendour; nevertheless the Court of Russia departed in our time by a contrary usage from this general sentiment, honouring Mr. de Printz, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector of Brandenburg (as an especial friendly distinction, in order to exhibit more abundantly the fraternal bonds lately confirmed between the two princes), with the same state ceremonial at his departure as that with which they received him on his arrival, and had thought fit to accompany his entry into their walls. The like was

intimated to the Lord Envoy also, after the ceremonial of giving him his re-credentials. He indeed set himself against this novel and unusual method of demonstrative friendship; but it was labour in vain. After his multifarious objections, the commands of His Majesty the Czar were brought back, directing that the Lord Envoy should be dismissed with such honours as had never fallen to the lot of any minister before him. So after duly providing by solemn protest, that the Muscovites should not pretend to make these unusual ceremonies a precedent at the Emperor's Court, he left it to their own free will to distinguish his departure with whatever honours they might choose. Now, it was in no particular different from the handsome ceremonial which they had appointed for our entry. There were squadrons of the new cavalry; detachments of the light troops, a most gorgeous coach of the Czar's, and horses glittering with new trappings of gold and silver and gems, awaited the Lord Envoy's officials. Along with the Lord Envoy, their fate in the coach a *pristaw* in ordinary, as well as the interpreter, and they were to conduct him as far as the place where fifteen months ago

the ceremonial of reception had been solemnly gone through.

Through the leading streets of the city, everywhere beset by a countless throng of men, we reached the banks of the river of Moscow. The crossing was not quite exempt from danger, for the bridge was only in the middle of the stream, and did not reach the bank at either side ; so that the ascent and descent were of no little difficulty. But the dangers of such ill-made bridges seems little or nothing to the Muscovites, though they swallow up no few people that are deceived by the unexpected declivity. Jemfska Slowoda (the coachmen's suburb) occupies the further bank. The *pristaw's* attendance was limited to the bounds of this suburb. Here the coach stopped, the *pristaw* bade farewell, and capped the adopted ceremonial with the last compliments. The noble estate of the Prime Minister and Boyar, Lord Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, called Filli, is only seven wersts distant from Moscow. He had some days previously invited the Lord Envoy, at his departure, to a dinner, which he got up there in most splendid style. Scarcely was the ceremonial at an end, when one of the officials of that

Boyar, who was sent by his master to show the way to the estate, presented himself, politely begging that the Lord Envoy would deign to follow him. Thus with the whole train and baggage, which was carried by ninety *potwoda*, he left the high road escorted by the representatives of foreign ministers and several officers of the Czar's army. So great were the compliments of the guests upon entering the place, which was for the most part thronged with the principal Germans, that you might have thought they were contending for a prize. There was a great and general studiousness of friendship; sovereign was the emulation of many to express with greater force the integrity of their feelings, till at length the summons to the costly banquet that was served brought back the guests to themselves. Except the Prime Minister and his kinsman, and our usual interpreter, Mr. Schwerenberg, no Russian guest was there. The Germans, in numbers, were invited instead of them. The following was the order of the seats after the Lord Envoy: the Envoy of Denmark, General de Gordon, the Brandenburg Resident, Adam Weyd; the Imperial Colonel of Artillery de

Grage, Colonel James Gordon ; Colonel Acchenton ;* the Imperial Missionary, John Berula ; the Czar's doctor, Carbonari ; Guasconi, a Catholic merchant ; Wolff, Brand, and Lips, non-Catholic merchants ; mixed among whom there also sat eight of the Lord Envoy's officials. The banquet was not inferior to Royal sumptuousness, nor was it cooked in the Russian fashion, but well dressed to the German taste. The rare profusion of viands, the costliness of the gold and silver plate, the variety and exquisiteness of the beverages, bespoke plainly the near blood-relation of the Czar.† After dinner there was an archery match : nobody was excused because of the exercise being strange to him, or for his want of skill in a matter to which he was unaccustomed. A sheet of paper stuck in the ground was the butt. The Prime Minister perforated it several times, amidst general applause. As the rain drove us from this most pleasant exercise, we retired again to the apartments of the Boyar. Nareskin, taking the Lord Envoy by the hand, led him to

* Acchintown, or Auchindown, an ancient castle and seat of the Gordons in Scotland.

† Nareskin's sister was the Czarine, mother of Peter I.

his wife's chamber to salute and be saluted. There is no higher mark of honour among the Russians. He is honoured in the highest degree whom the husband invites to embrace his wife, and to receive the extreme compliment of a sip of brandy from her hand. Nor should I pass unmentioned the liberality which the Boyar exhibited in his gift of a costly pelisse of fables to the Lord Envoy. Yet this munificence was not altogether devoid of some thought of his own advantage. For the Boyar labouredly sought an occasion of moving discourse, and calling to remembrance the honours of the day, when the Most August Emperor's clemency distinguished Basil Kirilowicz Galizin, who held the first place of authority in Muscovy fourteen years ago, sending him a coach by Mr. Kurz. Eager, no doubt, that the Emperor should exhibit equal condescension to him who ambitiously occupies the same place and office at present. Whither tended the atrocious threats against Diak Basil Bosnikow, that there was no scarcity of cudgels to chastise his impertinence towards him? Certainly this was meant to mollify the Lord Envoy, who was querulous about this Diak's rude manners, and to make fair

fail for the object of his ambition by the Lord Envoy's favourable report. But he lost his oil and his labour, when, after General Gordon having already occupied the seat of honour, he invited the Imperial Envoy to get into his coach, that he might conduct him to another estate of his two wersts further on. Yet the man was rather to be pardoned for his simplicity than reprehended for craftiness ; and so he was horror-stricken when the Lord Envoy said : " You postpone the Imperial Envoy to General Gordon ! " While he was seeking to remedy this, the Imperial Envoy got into his own carriage, and so drove off with the rest to that estate. Receiving his guests there with much politeness, the proprietor pointed out his conveniences for the chase on an adjacent hill that was studded with little thickets, and sloped with a gentle declivity into a valley ; and he sought to win back the offended spirit of the Lord Envoy by the offer of two sporting dogs, which he warranted capital. After tarrying for a brief space here, thanks were given and farewell bidden not only to the Boyar, but to all the guests present and above-named. Colonel Gordon's main task was to excuse his father of the offence

received in his person from the Boyar. Colonel de Grage and the Czar's doctor, Carbonari, followed our tents three wersts further.—Beneath the open sky, under canvas, we passed the night. But as a scarcity of water was apparent, the Lord Envoy not unjustly inveighed against the Czar's *pristaw*, for it was incumbent on him to have provided against such circumstances. Although there was no inn near, still we were not afflicted with any scarcity of eatables or drinkables. Nor did we ever experience such barren days as those eight continuous days that Wickart details in his "Muscovite Itinerary," fol. 126. People may take the blame to themselves who do not make provision of what is necessary from place to place. Perhaps in that instance it was nothing but parsimony, under the cloak of economy, that had introduced fasting.

24.—After solemn leave-taking on both sides, those returned to Moscow, who, as I have already said, accompanied us to the field and to our tents; and we too speedily started on an opposite route, and came at dinner hour to Pirguscowa, a village belonging to Knes Ivan Basilowicz. After dinner, passing the village of

Vefonka, which belongs to Prince Boris Alexiowicz, we went on some miles further through rough and broken ways, and over many little bridges between, to our night's resting place in the woods. Oats were bought in that village; for they are not to be had in every place. This prince has built at his own cost a handsome church, at the further side of the stream that flows through the place, which is no mean ornament. This prince had sent forward one of his officials to furnish all that the Lord Envoy or his whole suite might need; but he did not meet us because we did not stop there.

25.—By Kuckliza Lararega to Scoloma Brachentska, where we dined. This place belongs to the Stolnok (that is, noble) Ianow. Here a surgeon that we brought with us, a great boaster of his skill, showed himself in a dispute with one of the serfs, more anxious about oil for the wheels than about that of roses. On our evening drive through the forests several white hares were seen—the Lord Envoy sent a ball through one, a dish for to-morrow's dinner. Not far from Mofaisko, in a glassy glade of the forest, supper was prepared, and we slept.

26.—We arrived early at the city of Mosaisko.* Saint Nicholas is revered as patron there. Formerly the Muscovite Czars were in the habit of coming to this neighbourhood, laying aside the cares of state, and recreating themselves with the chase, especially of white hares, of which there are great quantities hereabouts. But the present Autocrat of Russia, never, or hardly ever, indulges in the chase, by the various kinds of which his predecessors used to divide the seasons of the year. This fortress and wooden town are distant eighteen German miles from Moscow; and here provision was made of a change of *potwoda*—the same in number as at Moscow. After fifteen *wersts* we passed the night in the forest.

27.—Dinner in the forest also, close to the village of Ostroschock; but our afternoon journey was very disagreeable from the swamps, dykes, and little bridges. All the carriages would stick so as hardly to be got along, so that we had to remain on the road till midnight,

* In the neighbourhood of Mosaisk, which is a pretty little town of 2,500 souls, was fought in 1812, the great battle of the Borodino.—TRANSL.

for the lightly burdened had been sent on in advance to look out for a convenient place for our night halt; and heedless of the difficulty of the road, which they did not feel, they had gone on too far. Two horses that some of our company would have follow us loose were lost in the darkness of the night; one that was sent off to inquire about them only brought back indications of their having been stolen. At last we had supper in a forest on the banks of a stream.

28.—Passing through Biala Kabaka, where capital beer was found, we dined near the village of Wasseiniz Czariwa, which Wickart calls Sumieschne Tzariwa, others pronounce Segmestia Tzariova. The founder of this place was Ivan Basilowicz,* whose reign began in 1533, and who, after a tyranny of fifty-one

* Ivan IV., styled the Cruel, or, as the Russians sometimes prefer to call him, the Terrible, who was a suitor in 1579 for the hand of Queen Elizabeth of England. He established in 1568 the sovereign's body guard, called the Strelitz, which for repeated seditions and treasonable conspiracies, under Peter the Great, was abolished with the sanguinary vengeance detailed in this Diary; and which has no parallel so striking as the massacre in 1826 of the Janissaries, with whom the Strelitz had so many other points of resemblance, as has been frequently remarked.—TRANSL.

years, perished miserably in the year 1584. The village now belongs to the Boyar Bucchin, by gift of the Czar. The last Czar built a new church here. There are seven bells there that chime like an organ ; they rang out in honour of the Lord Envoy when he was passing through. Fifteen *wersts* further on we supped in the forest.

29.—We arrived by an excessively rough road to Viasma, a wooden town and castle of considerable size. The then Woivode was one of the Bucchins ; * he would admit none of our people into the city ; insisting upon a mandate of Czar Michael Feodorowicz, that has grown quite obsolete in the modern state of things, or quite abolished. Here was the second change of *potwoda*, and the first of the foldiers to whom, because they belonged to Gordon's regiment, the Lord Envoy gave some imperials. The river Hugra washes this city, after crossing which we passed the bridge called the Mile-and-half Bridge. Indeed, almost the whole way from Vefonka to the fortress of Smolensko is difficult,

* Bucchin, probably Pouchkin.—TRANSL.

on account of the countless and exceedingly long bridges. We supped in the forest.

30.—We arrived at Semblowa at dinner hour. The Russians were celebrating the feast of Saint Elias. They alleged as the reason for this festival, that for three years and six months continuously no rain had fallen in that part of Muscovy, and that God at length granted it to their prayers on that day. In the evening arrived at Tschowodofelo, which Wickart calls Schobodognia. How inhuman and untractable the Muscovites show themselves at times, the following occurrence will teach. We had a carriage broken; a peasant was called to mend it, and taking it as an omen of the worst, he jumped into the water, threatening with his drawn knife to defend himself against anybody that would attempt to take him out.

31.—The Lord Envoy's birthday fell out to-day. Having suitably performed our congratulations—after passing the Basilean Monastery, called Bogdin—we refreshed ourselves with dinner outside the village of Madilowa, on the Borysthenes. Three noble brothers are lords of this village. They refused to repair the bridge

over the Borysthenes at their own cost until the Lord Envoy threatened to denounce them to the Czar's Majesty, and hinted the penalty of hanging, or knout-flogging, that would be the infallible consequence. The ferocity of the brothers vanished at hearing of such horrid punishments, and becoming vastly mild they proffered milk, and did all that was in their power to repair the bridge. We supped outside the city of Drogobusa, which lies on the bank of the Borysthenes. The deep river Huga rises not far from this town in a forest, and flows into the Occa between Kalouga and Vorotinsk. This river formerly divided Lithuania from Russia. One of the return *potwoda* (for here we had the third change of *potwoda*) stole a sack of oats and harness from another, but, being caught in the fact, received as the penalty of his dishonesty an abundant thrashing of *battoks*.

† AUGUST 1.—The *pristaw* leaving the usual road brought us by a short cut. After passing the monastery of Wefukol, situated upon a high hill, we prepared dinner in a forest, and

lupped close by the river Wob, which it took us till midnight to cross. The Lord Envoy received a present of fish from a noble starost of a neighbouring village.

2.—We halted for dinner in a vast open plain at the village of Moeft; our journey in the evening was incommoded by a thunderstorm, and we spread our tents on a beauteous flat on a lofty hill in the forest.

3.—We were seriously admonished by an indisposition of the Lord Envoy to strike our tents later than usual. As we travelled on, medicines had to be prepared, and the malady was on the increase; when, at dinner-time, we arrived at Smolensko. This city, the metropolis of the Duchy of Smolensko, seated upon the bank of the Borysthenes, possesses a citadel built of oaken timbers, in the midst of which there is a church, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, built upon a rock. The city itself lies in a valley cinctured on every side with hills and vast forests. The Lord Envoy was received in the most honourable way outside the gate by a fresh *pristaw* and two companies of soldiers, who accompanied his coach to his lodging, for which

a house suitable to his rank was assigned. After everybody had installed himself in his room, the secretary was sent to the Woivode Peter Samuelowicz Soltikow to announce our arrival, and perform the other ceremonies of salutation. He, in return, sent a most polite message of wishes for our health, and said that he would call to-day on the Lord Envoy, if he did not believe it might incommode him, as he had heard he was rather indisposed.

4.—But to omit nothing which could be expected from the politest of men, he deputed his own son, eight years old, to make particular inquiries about the Lord Envoy's state of health. The Lord Envoy, however, having somewhat recovered his strength, went off to return the very great civility of this gentleman, with no less promptitude to the Woivode, along with his son, to give and receive in turn tokens of true mutual friendship.

5.—Here was the fourth change of *potwoda*. Customarily another *pristaw*, too, is appointed; but as the Lord Envoy, in answer to the Woivode's inquiry, whether he would prefer the same *pristaw*, or a fresh one, said that he would

prefer the offices of the former, as he knew him already ;—he was not changed. His name was Alexi Michita Lichoni. Everything being arranged we quitted Smolensko, and passed that night in a meadow.

6.—We arrived in the plain before the village of Dolstihî at dinner hour. One of the officials was sent forward from this place with letters for the Governor of Kadzin, to beg he would have the goodness to aid that official in collecting carters. We slept that night close to Tohusoff.

7.—We arrived at the Muscovite village, called by some Richena, and by others Gregorwski. Outside this village, near Kadzin, a nameless rivulet marks the frontier between Lithuania and Muscovy. When lately, in the year 1614, negotiations for peace were going on between these two most puissant nations, a house was built over this rivulet, in which the ambassador of either country sat within his own territory. Here the *prisztaw* and the *potwoda* bade farewell, and in their stead we found carters, to whom we were to pay two imperials for every horse to bring our baggage to Mohilow. There were

twenty of them in all ; sixteen from Richena and four from Kadzin. The Lord Envoy went by invitation to the governor of this frontier town, having sent him a handsome present previously. As we were pitching our tents in the fields outside of Kadzin, the governor sent us fish.

8.—The bridges, and the frequency of steep hills gave much trouble and labour with the carts, which were heavily laden. We arrived outside the city of Hori about noon ; afterwards, passing Gratschma* and Krug Bern (they call their inns Krug), we supped in Kirojetscha. But ceaseless rain forced us to abandon our tents, and betake ourselves to the smoky dens of the rustics.

9.—At Schivanni we rested in the forest about noon. Here the Governor of Sclovia, Mr. John Modlock, a native of Dantzick, returning from his estate to Sclovia, visited the Lord Envoy, who slept that night beyond Stanowicz, in the fields.

10.—At a mile from Mohilow we had to

* A corruption of *Karſzmat*, pronounced Karshmat, the local name for the vile Polish ale-houses, the only inns out of the great towns, and dens of matchless filth.—TRANSL.

cross the Borystheneſes, the paſſing of which occupied three hours. Count Bergamini, Captain of Irregular horſe (*equitum deſultoriorum magiſter*), who had come into Muſcovy in our time, but to no purpoſe, and who had come back to his foldiers without ſeeing the Czar, was the firſt to ſalute the Lord Envoy. A major and a company of foldiers, by command of General de Beiſt, received the Lord Envoy with proper reſpect on the farther bank of the river, and eſcorted him all the way to Mohilow.

General de Beiſt, after our arrival had been duly notified to him, ſent his greetings through his regimental auditor, announcing that he would call in perſon. But his viſit was politely declined, and the meeting put off on both ſides till the morrow. Meanwhile, a corporal and eight men were ſent for our guard.

11.—Next day we inſpected the new Jeſuits' church at Mohilow, and another belonging to the Carmelites. The Bernardines,* too, have a monaſtery, and the Baſileans an immense

* A branch of the Franciſcan order is called ſo in Poland, as I am informed.—TRANSL.

abbey. Of one of the Bernardines who took occasion to beg an alms of us, the following story was told: That this monk was formerly not a Catholic, that he had long made up his mind to embrace our orthodox faith, which gave the evangelicals who were staying there occasion to traduce the good man's intentions, that finally impatient of being teased any longer he at last answered somebody: "I will not become a Catholic, but a Bernardine;" as if that order were not comprehended in the Catholic religion. The Lord Envoy dined with General de Beist, and gave him two Astracan sheep, rare animals in these regions. Eighteen horses were got together, for each of which we paid five imperials for taking us as far as the city of Minsk.

12.—We dined in the town of Knafschiz, where the Dominicans venerate an image of the Mother of God, copied after the miraculous image of Tſceſtochov.* In the evening we

* Czenſtochow, or Częſtochow, or Czenſtochau, in Russian Poland, close to the frontiers of Prussian Silesia. A renowned place of pilgrimage, where there is an image of the Mother of God, which was crowned as Queen of Poland, in the 17th century, by King John Cassimir.—TRANSL.

halted at Halawzi, a village of which General Slufki is lord.

13.—Travelling through Ceerin, we arrived at Paulowicz at dinner time. This place belongs to Oginski. Some of his domestics that were setting out along with us to Warsaw, with a great number of dogs, asseverated that they had taken fifty bears in that district. In the evening it was raining, when we entered Illa.

14.—Passing through the town of Bober, so called from the river Bober that flows past it, we refreshed ourselves with dinner in Krupke. The cold to-day was so great, that some of our folk were not ashamed to put on furs.* Passed through Nashot, and supped in Loschniz.

15.—We made our mid-day halt at Borisfowa, where there is a long bridge: the river Berezina, by the inhabitants called Breifen, cutting up the land repeatedly with its windings and turns. The townsfolk were celebrating the dedication of the church. Hence, the Secretary,

* The Poles have an old jesting proverb, to the effect that one should wear fur until St. John's day (24th June), and not put them off after it: which is tantamount to saying that in their climate furs must be worn the whole year round. The Russians, indeed, wear them often travelling, even in summer.—TRANSL.

going to speak to the Procurator of the College of Minsk, who was then there, found several noble guests of both sexes at the parish priest's. The same river waters the village of Berwiz, which we passed, and we halted that night in the town of Sodin, which others call Boguslaw.

16.—Dinner in Schmolowiz; thence by a road, in some places bad, and in others easy, we arrived in Gratschma Horodzisseze, where we prepared supper.

17.—We arrived at the city of Minsk, in which the Jesuits, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Bernardines, have their colleges and monasteries. The river Suiflowiz intersects the city, and flows into the sea at Riga. So desolated by war, and several conflagrations, in this place, that though formerly rich in merchandise, it has now but few shops to show.

18.—Here we tarried while the carriages, which on our journey into the country we were obliged, on account of the badness of the roads, to leave behind us, with the fathers of the society, were repaired and loaded again. The Superior of the Jesuits and his *socius* dined with us by invitation. Our hostess, whose father was bur-

gomafter (*consulatum tenebat*), was honoured in the same way.

19.—Setting on the afternoon, we got as far as Viasen, passing through Molschgabiz.

20.—Through the city of Goudanow to Palagniawiz, and after dinner went to Gratschma Safiulle.

21.—At Schokobora we crossed the river Niemen, an arm of which had flooded more than a mile of the road, and converted the slimy soil into a swamp. One of the coachmen plumped unexpectedly into a hole, upsetting the carriage; and it could not be got out for a long time,—so that the water got into the trunks and their precious contents. Afterwards we went on to Mira, which belongs to Radziwil.

22.—On account of our mishap in the water yesterday, we remained here.

23.—We set out after dinner, and arrived at the Gratschma,* or hostelry, called Wolna.

24.—We comforted ourselves with dinner in the city of Stelowiz, a place possessing a Loreto chapel as well as its parish church. The church

* *Reclè* Karzmatt, the Polish name for the rude filthy *caravanserais* of that country.—TRANSL.

is served by a Provost and two Vicars. There is a yearly fair here after St. Bartholomew's day. Passing through Neumosch, we got on to Poloncka, where there is a Dominican Monastery, and stopped for the night.

25.—Passing Gratschma Takimlowiz, we arrived at the city of Slonim: here there are both Dominicans and Jesuits. After dinner, as we were going off, we were opposed by a swarm of bees that had swarmed out on the high road, and had lately killed a horse and stung many people in the face and hands. They were kept at bay with fire, and everybody ran past the place as fast as he possibly could. At nightfall we arrived at Gratschma Schmelnize. A river called the Ruida flows past this inn.

26.—We arrived early at Rosana, and heard mass at the Uniat Ruthenians. A son of General Sapieha was then residing at this place, and he not only sent us a guard of eight soldiers, but also handsomely entertained the Lord Envoy at dinner. In this city Jew carters were collected, with whom we bargained for six imperials for each horse to bring our baggage to Warsaw.

27.—After dinner we started for Liskowa, where we remained for the night.

28.—Dinner in the inn at Stoteniki, and supper in the village of Jalowka.

29.—Dinner close by the river Nareff, in a town of the same name. Supped in Klenick.

30.—After getting over a mile of road, we came to Dredianka, where the depth of the water,—the bridge being broken down,—denied us passage; in consequence of which we had to take the road by Lochniza, and so we dined in the royal city of Bilseck. Bzaniski is starost for General Sapieha. Besides a monastery of Uniat Basilians there, the Carmelites, too, have a foundation of forty thousand Polish florins: the Polish florin is worth six pfennings.* A peasant wanted to force one of the Grooms of the Chamber, who went forward with the Jew carters, to pay the tolls, though it was no business whatever of his; and the fellow's audacity went so far as to try with ostentatious violence to drag about a horse and to draw a pistol from the

* The Polish florin, still current in Russian Poland, amounts also to sixpence English; and is about the fourth of the value of the German florin.—TRANSL.

holster. But when he perceived that the Ambassador and the rest of the train were coming up, he tried to save himself by running away. The blacksmith followed him, and unhorsed him with his lance, and brought the peasant's horse with him into the city, as a *pièce de conviction*, the fellow himself having got away. The fellow belonged to a canon, who with the greatest politeness begged pardon for the exceeding insolence committed by his serf. When the peasant was sent to the Lord Envoy for chastisement, he pardoned him the outrage, moved by the kindness of the canon, who interceded for him. At night we came to the city of Bodki,—others write Bodski: a little, winding river of the same name runs past this place.

31.—Half a mile beyond Bodki we entered the boundaries of Masovia. The inhabitants are a dangerous race, gaping thievishly at what belongs to other folk, and notorious for night marauders and robberies.* Dinner in the inn at Mironowski. Towards evening we arrived at the Buck (*Bóg*), a river of immense width,

* “*Natio periculosa, alienis furtive inhians, nocturnisque grassatoribus, et latrociniis nota.*”—ORIG.

the city of Granada being on the right bank, and on the left that of Kremeniz, where we passed that night, after getting safely across the river.

SEPTEMBER 1. — At Semkowa for dinner ; Wenkenow, where we bought oats ; and, after fording the river Liba, arrived at the town of that name.

2.—On the road we met the train of General Carlowiz, who was going to Moscow again. He was taking miners with him. Dined in the town of Dobre. Passing through Stanislawa we supped in the inn at Michalowa.

3.—At ten o'clock to-day we reached Praga, on the Vistula. The width of the river rendered the passage difficult ; it took three hours to get across. Warsaw, the capital of the Kings of Poland, stands upon the opposite bank. All the Polish magnates and the ambassadors of crowned heads live in palaces in the suburbs. We put up at an inn in the street they call Cracow Street. General Carlowiz called on the Lord Envoy.

4.—The most eminent Cardinal Radziowski,

and the most illustrious lord, Monsignor Avia, the Nuncio Apostolic, were notified of our arrival through the secretary. It was, moreover, intimated to the former that the Lord Envoy was the bearer of letters of the King of Persia for his Majesty the King, and that in the King's absence he would deliver them to his Eminence, as Primate of this kingdom.* The Lord Envoy honoured the Apostolic Nuncio with the first visit; and he returned it with no less promptitude in the afternoon. The Lord Envoy was also visited by Baron de Blumberg, who was formerly associated with Mr. Zierowski, Imperial ambassador to the Court of Moscow. Father Conrad, a Carmelite, about to go back to Persia, whence he returned a few years ago, also had the politeness to call.

5.—The Lord Envoy visited Baron de Blumberg and General Carlowiz. He was called

* The Primate of Poland, Archbishop of Gnesen and Posen, was the highest dignitary of the old Polish kingdom. He enjoyed the privilege of wearing scarlet like a Cardinal; and was, *virtute officii*, Regent of the kingdom, with the title of Inter-Rex, during vacancies of the throne; and, during the period of inter-Regency, laid claim to the style of Most Serene, which, however, the kings of France denied even to the crowned kings of Poland.—TRANSL.

away to the most eminent Cardinal Radziowski to give him the Persian letters. We strolled to amuse ourselves to the Lubomirski garden, the bath of which is much praised for its beauty and art. The hermitage there is so artistically constructed that I must not pass it over in silence.

6.—The Lord Envoy went to dine at the Apostolic Nuncio's. Letters written from Muscovy since we left arrived, telling of a great conflagration that broke out in the city the same day as the grand Swedish Embassy was brought in in solemn state. The Palace of the Ambassadors, that of General Schachin, Prince Galizin's, with several more besides, and fifteen thousand houses, were burnt to the ground; and the letters told how amidst the general dismay the Danish Envoy had fled to Mr. Adam Weyd's, how the Swedes were brought to the late General Lefort's wooden palace beyond the Taufa, how eight incendiaries had been caught, and that two of them, popes, confess that the Strelitz were the originators of the fire, and would never be at rest until all Moscow lay in ashes. Louis de

Buchan, who was recently sent to the Czar, came back to-day from Muscovy.

7.—The secretary was sent to the Apostolic Nuncio to tell him the news that came yesterday of the great fire in Moscow. The late King's* body embalmed lay still provisionally at the Capuchins; we went to see it, and also the rooms which he had built in the monastery of those fathers, in order to retire there from time to time from public cares for a brief space. The Muscovite resident delivered to the Lord Envoy letters from the Czar to the Emperor. They announced that a mission had been sent to Constantinople, and requested of the Emperor to interpose his friendly and fraternal offices in the negotiations for peace that were to be resumed.

8.—Not far from the church dedicated to the Holy Cross there is a chapel called the Muscovite Chapel, because it was built by two Czars that were made prisoners in days of yore, and buried there. About evening the Nuncio Apostolic baptised a son of Prince Seuterizki.†

* John III., the chivalrous Sobieski.—TRANSL.

† Probably the name here disguised by the old secretary's odd orthography should be *Czartoriski*.—TRANSL.

A quarrel arose from some trifling cause on the bank of the Vistula, and the Poles, mobbed together in countless numbers, massacred three Saxon soldiers in a pitiable way with stones and sticks.

9.—A Jew baptised at the Church of Holy Cross; the sponsors were Cardinal Radziowski and the wife of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania. The neophyte received the name of Michael. The Nuncio Apostolic set out on a visitation of the religious houses in Lithuania.

10.—The Muscovite resident visited the Lord Envoy.

11.—We procured horses, for which we are to pay eightpence per mile each. The head carter's name is Rolant, who being elated beyond what he ought, was the cause of our leaving later than we intended. We halted for the night in Bulow.

12.—We stopped in Ussudar precisely at noon, and in the evening in the city of Amsternow.

13.—Dined in the village of Pabiski, and passed through the town of Rawa to Kaminska, where we supped.

14. — Dined in Lafchifka, bought oats in Velbor, supped in Petrikow. In Velbor some of the servants fell into a dispute with a Pole; but the Pole, being struck in the face, ran away and gave up the contest.

15. — Dined in Caminfka, supped in Radumski.

16. — Dinner in Zaporowa, supper in the city of Jfchestokow.* The monastery here is enclosed with a very strong wall, and is always garrisoned with Polish troops. Monks of the order of St. Paul inhabit it. Their provincial, a man advanced in years, received the Lord Envoy with extreme politeness, and, introducing him to the richly-provided pharmacy of the monastery, presented him with Hungarian wine.

17. — Out of particular devotion to the Mother of God we performed our devotions here; for there is a miraculous image of the Most Blessed Virgin venerated here, which still retains scars and marks upon the face which were made by a peasant with a whip, and is renowned for numbers

* Czenstochow, near the frontier of Prussian Silesia, a place of pilgrimage still greatly frequented.—TRANSL.

of miracles. It was given by Ladislaus, Duke of Oppeln. Afterwards we inspected the treasury of the church, which is exceedingly rich in relics. There is a veil (*velum*) of St. Philip Neri; a miraculous cross that belonged to St. Charles Borromeo, which is very efficacious in cases of obsession. In our presence an obsessed woman bellowed horribly during mass. Starting again after dinner we supped in Caminiza.

18.—We stopped for dinner in Turenberg, and for supper in Tarnoberg.

19.—There are two Jesuit missionaries here; and also the first imperial posting station, of which the Lord Envoy availed himself to go on before us to Vienna. We followed in his track after dining, and reached Klawiz late that evening.

20.—In Rauda there is a monastery of Cistercians. We dined there, and supped in the town of Ratibor, which is watered by the Oder, and half a mile before which there is an unusually long bridge built over a swamp.

21.—At dinner hour we arrived in Troppau, which belongs to Prince Liechtenstein; and halted in the evening at Dereschdorff.

22.—Passing through the town of Hoft, we dined in Berna, and supped in Olmutz.

23.—On account of an eclipse we did not set out until it had ceased to darken the heavens. So, as we only left in the afternoon, we halted at Teifchniza.

24.—Passed through the town of Wischau, and had dinner prepared in the village of Raufniz, a place belonging to His Excellency the Count von Kauniz. When dinner was over we prepared to set out; but a dangerous riot that arose between our train and the Jews that lived in that village detained us beyond an hour; a stone thrown by a Jew knocked out the right eye of one of the grooms of the chamber. Several on both sides were injured.

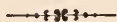
25.—That evening the secretary set off to give a full account of the riot above-mentioned to the Lord Envoy Extraordinary; and took the post at Nickolburg in order to gain time. But the rest of the suite had dinner in that town, and supped in Kezelsdorff.

26.—Dined in Wolckersdorff; supped in Stamerdorff.

27.—From thence we arrived safely in Vienna.

A COMPENDIOUS DESCRIPTION
OF THE
PERILOUS REVOLT OF THE
STRELITZ IN MUSCOVY.

REVOLT OF THE STRELITZ.



By a common sport of fortune it very often happens that when a friend would extinguish the houses of his neighbours which the flames are devouring, his own is involved in the same peril. And so it is not without reason that we deplore a calamity that may befall ourselves as often as Ucalegon hard-by is on fire.

Everybody knows that when the Poles were about to proceed to the vote for the election of a monarch to the throne of their widowed Republic, their struggles were divided between two candidates. These wild gusts bursting beyond the narrow limits of the Diet, among this fiery people, burning as they are with subtle and active intrigue, menaced a tempest fraught with universal danger. The Czar of Muscovy, roused by the proximity of the peril, ordered a strong body of troops under the command of General Knes

Michael Gregorowicz Romadonowfki, to lie in observation upon the frontiers of Lithuania, so as to be able, should public disorders arise out of the strife of private individuals, to settle them promptly and repress with strong succours the disturbers of the public peace, and force them the more efficaciously into the reverence due to their lawfully elected king.

But how wonderful are the vicissitudes of fortune and of human affairs ! The flood burst in wild rage upon him, who rashly thought to brave the unruly inundation that menaced the quiet of a neighbouring nation. Four regiments of Strelitz, which lay upon the frontier of Lithuania, had nefariously plotted to change the sovereignty. The regiment of Theodosia abandoned Viasma, the Athanasian regiment quitted Picla, the Ivano-Tzernovio-Wlodomirian left Ostheba, and the Ticchonian quitted Dorogobusa, in which places they were in garrison. They drove away the loyal officers that happened to be among them, distributed military rank among themselves,—the readiest for crime being held the fittest for command. At once they menaced death to all in their next neighbourhood, if they

would not freely join their party or should resist their design.

Many reports spread through Moscow about the danger that was so near at hand, but what real truth was in them nobody knew : until at length the meetings of the Boyars, their consultations repeated day after day, their assembling by night, and their assiduous conferences might have proved to any body how grave a business it was, and what imminent need there was to press on their conclusions to maturity. The Czar, before his departure, had chosen the Boyar and Woivode Alexis Simonowicz Schahin,* generalissimo of his land forces. No other than the man whom the Czar's majesty had already entrusted with the command-in-chief of the army could be charged with the execution of the measures required. But the orders were not sufficiently decisive, everybody wished to take counsel of events ; should they hold out perseveringly and refuse to confess their fault and crave pardon, it would be then time enough to take severe measures against this flagitious mutiny. Schachin agreed to

* Schein.

accept the power they, the Boyars, would entrust to him, but upon condition that the decree approved unanimously should be also confirmed by all their seals and signatures. Although what he required was fair, there was not one among them all that did not refuse to put his hand to the resolution. It was hard to say whether this was through fear or envy: but the danger was too near to admit of delay, and the dread was left the seditious cohorts of the Strelitz should penetrate into Moscow. Nor was it without reason that they were in terror of the mixing of the rebels and the masses. It appeared more advisable to march out against them than to await an invasion so fraught with the veriest peril.

The regiments of the guards got notice to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's notice, and that those who should decline to act against the sacrilegious violators of the Majesty of the Crown would be held guilty of misprision of their crime,—that no ties of blood or kindred held binding when the salvation of the sovereign and the state were at stake,—nay, that a son might slay his father if he rose to ruin his fatherland. General Gordon strenuously

executed this Spartan measure, and exhorted the troops entrusted to him to perform their noble task, telling them how there could be no more glorious meed than to have saved the sovereign and the state. Nor was the circumstance of this expedition against the mutineers being undertaken on the very festival of Pentecost, devoid of happy omen that the spirit of truth and justice would confound the councils of the wicked,—as the event clearly showed. For there was discord between the three principal chiefs of the rebellion, which delayed their march for three days, and so gave the loyal army time to encounter the traitor Strelitz at the monastery dedicated to the most Holy Resurrection which some call Jerusalem. For the stupendous nature of their crime, brought dread, delay, and divided counsels: the concord that is sworn for crime is seldom indeed lasting. Had the rebels reached that monastery but one hour sooner, safe within its strong defences, they might perhaps have worn out the loyal troops with such long and fruitless labour that they might have lost heart, and Victory, hostile to Loyalty, might have set her garland upon the brow of Treason. But

Fortune denied to their turbulent counsels the object that they sought. A slender stream not far distant waters the rich land hereabouts. On its hither banks the Czar's troops, and on the opposite the rebel columns had begun to appear. The latter were trying the ford and if they had been really determined to pass, the Czar's force could hardly have hindered them. Fatigued with a long march, and still without sufficient force, Gordon, setting wisdom in the place of strength, strolled alone to the bank to talk with the Strelitz. He found them deliberating about crossing, and dissuaded them from their undertaking with words like these: "What did they mean to do? Whither were they going? If they were thinking of Moscow, the night was too close at hand to admit of their reaching it,—there was not room for them all on the hither bank, they would do much better to remain at the other side of the river and give the night to thinking sensibly of what they ought to do on the morrow. The seditious multitude could not resist such friendly advice; they were too much fatigued in body to have stomach for a fight where they did not expect one.

Meantime, Gordon having well examined all the advantages of the ground, occupied an advantageous height with his troops. Schachin consenting, he distributed the posts, and fortified himself, leaving nothing undone that could contribute to his own defence and security or to the detriment and damage of the enemy. With equal loyalty and resolution the imperial colonel of artillery, De Grage, bravely performed his part. He made a lodgement upon the height, placed his great guns in advantageous position, and distributed all in such excellent order, that almost the whole success that attended the affair was due to the artillery. At the first dawn of day, by command of General Schachin, General Gordon went again to parley with the Strelitz, and after blaming somewhat the disobedience of the regiments, he discoursed largely of the Czar's clemency, telling them, that it was not by sedition and mobbing together that the desires of foldiers should be made known to the Czar. Why, contrary to their usual dutiful behaviour, contrary to the sanction of discipline, had they deserted the places that had been entrusted to their loyal keeping? Why should they have

4 months
regiment
in the
position

driven away their officers, and have broken out in designs of violence? Let them rather propose their requests peaceably, and, mindful of the loyalty they owed, return to their appointed stations, that should he see them yield to their duty, should he hear them beg for it, he would get them both satisfaction for their requests, and pardon, when they confessed it, for their shameful conduct. But Gordon's speech did not move the now hardened stubbornness of the false traitors; and they only feebly answered that they would not go back to their appointed quarters until they had been allowed to kiss their darling wives at Moscow, and had received the arrears of their pay.

Gordon related to Schachin the perfectly determined wickedness of the Strelitz. But as the latter was unwilling to despair altogether of the repentance of the criminals, Gordon did not decline to try a third time to mollify the fierce passions of the rebels with offers of payment of their arrears, and pardon for the crime they were bent upon. Not only was advice utterly fruitless, but they were in such a state of exasperation, that the negotiator was near to have paid dearly for

his pains. Already they loudly upbraided and rebuked this man of grave authority, their former general; they warned him to be off forthwith, and not to waste his words to no purpose, unless he wanted a bullet to chastise his marvellous audacity; that they recognised no master, and would listen to orders from nobody: that they would not go back to their quarters; that they must be admitted into Moscow; that if they were forbidden, they would open the road with force and cold steel. Their unexpected fierceness stung Gordon, and he deliberated with Schachin and the other military officers present what was to be done. There was no difficulty in deciding the course that should be adopted against men that were predetermined to try the strength of their arms. Everything was made ready, consequently, for the onset and the fight, as the stubborn unanimity of the traitors forced on that last resort. Nor were the Strelitz less busy; they drew up their array, pointed their artillery, dressed their ranks, and, as if the strife in which they were about to mingle was a struggle with a foreign foe, they preceded it with the customary prayers and invocation of God. Even malice does not

dare to show its head in the face of the world without disguising itself in the colours of virtue and righteousness.

Countless signs of the cross being made on both sides, the attack began on both sides from a distance. The first reports of cannon and small arms proceeded from the lines of General Schachin, by whose command none of the pieces were loaded with ball; for he entertained a secret hope that the reality of resistance might terrify them into a submissive return to obedience. But the first volley passing without wound or slaughter, only added courage to guilt. Vastly emboldened, they responded by a discharge, by which some were laid lifeless, and several were bloodily wounded. When death and wounds had given a sufficient lesson that stronger remedies must be applied, Colonel de Grage was no longer required to dissemble his stout will, and allowed to discharge his great guns, fraught with deadly lead and iron. Colonel de Grage had been anxiously waiting for this command, and lost no time in firing with such precision into their rebel ranks that their furious passions were checked, and the strife of resistance and skir-

mishing of the mutineers was changed into a piteous slaughter.

When they saw that some were stretched lifeless, courage and fierceness at once deserted the terror-stricken Strelitz, who broke in disorder. Those that retained any presence of mind, endeavoured by the fire of their own artillery to check and silence that of the Czar ; but all in vain ; for Colonel de Grage had anticipated that design, and directing the fire of his pieces upon the artillery of the seditious mob, whenever they would go to their guns, vomited such a perfect hurricane upon them, that many fell, numbers fled away, and none remained daring enough to return to fire them. Still Colonel Grage did not cease to thunder from the heights into the ranks of the flying. The Strelitz saw safety nowhere ; arms could not protect them ; nothing was more appalling to them than the ceaseless flash and roar of the artillery showering its deadly bolts upon them from the German right. And the same men who, but an hour before, had spat upon proffered pardon, offered in consequence to surrender—so short is the interval that separates victors from vanquished. Suppliant, they fell

prostrate, and begged that the artillery might cease its cruel ravages, offering to do promptly whatever they were ordered. The suppliants were directed to lay down their arms, to quit their ranks, and obey in everything that would be enjoined to them. Though they at once threw down their arms, and proceeded to the places to which they were ordered ; nevertheless, for a little while, the fire of the artillery was kept up, lest with the cessation of the cause of their terror, their rash daring should return, and the mutinous strife be renewed. But when they were truly and thoroughly frightened, they were treated with contemptuous impunity. Thousands of men allowed themselves to be fettered, who, if they had but rather instead have tried their real strength, would, beyond the least doubt, have become the victors of those that vanquished them. But it is God that scatters the counsels of the malignant, that they may not prosper in their undertaking.

When the ferocious arrogance with which they were swollen had been made to subside completely, in the manner we have just narrated, and all the accomplices of the mutiny had been cast

into chains, General Schachin instituted an inquiry, by way of torture, touching the causes, the objects, the instigators, the chiefs, and the accomplices of this perilous and impious machination. For there was a very serious suspicion that more exalted people were at the head of it. Every one of them freely confessed himself deserving of death; but to detail the particulars of the nefarious plot, to lay bare the objects of it, to betray their accomplices, was what no person could persuade any of them to do. The rack was consequently got in readiness by the executioner, as the only means left to elicit the truth. The torture that was applied was of unexampled inhumanity. Scourged most savagely with the cat, if that had not the effect of breaking their stubborn silence, fire was applied to their backs, all gory and streaming, in order that, by slowly roasting the skin and tender flesh, the sharp pangs might penetrate through the very marrow of their bones, to the utmost power of painful sensation. These tortures were applied alternately, over and over again. Horrid tragedies to witness and to hear. In the open field above thirty of these more than funeral pyres blazed at the same

time, and thereat were these most wretched creatures under examination roasted amidst their horrible howlings. At another side resounded the merciless strokes of the cat, while this most savage butchery of men was being done in this very pleasant neighbourhood.

After numbers had been proved by the torture, at last the obstinacy of a few was found to yield ; and one of them detailed the following particulars of this most perverse plot. He said that he was not unaware how great their fault was, that all had deserved to lose their lives, and that perhaps none would be found that would shrink death. That had fortune attended their undertaking they would have decreed the same penalty against the Boyars, as, now they were vanquished, they expected themselves ; for that they had the intention to set on fire, sack and ruin the whole German suburb, and when all the Germans, without exception, had been got rid of by massacre, to enter Moscow by force, to murder all that would make resistance, taking the rest with them to aid in their nefarious deeds ; that they meant to inflict death upon some of the Boyars, exile upon others, and to drag them all down

from their offices and dignities, in order the more easily to conciliate to themselves the sympathies of the masses. That some popes were to carry an image of the Blessed Virgin, and another of Saint Nicholas, before them, in order that it might appear they had been driven to take up arms by the necessity of defending the faith, and not out of malice. That when they had got possession of authority they meant to scatter papers among the public, to assure the people that the Czar's majesty, who had gone abroad, in consequence of the pernicious advice of the Germans, had died beyond seas. But that lest the barque of the State should be buffeted at hazard by the billows to perish a wreck upon the first rock, that Princess Sophia Alexiowna was to be raised to the throne until the Czarewicz should have attained his majority and the strength of manhood. That Basil Galizin was to have been recalled from exile, to aid Sophia with prudent advice.

Now, as any one of the points of this confession was of itself weighty enough to merit death, General Schachin had the sentence that was drawn up against them, promulgated and

executed. Numbers were condemned to be hanged and gibbeted; many laid their heads upon the fatal block and died by the axe; many were reserved to certain vengeance, and laid in custody in places in the environs. It was contrary to General Gordon's and Prince Matski's advice that the General proceeded to execute the rebels; as in this manner the chiefs of the revolt may, without sufficient examination, have been removed, by premature death, from further inquest. Hence, he drew upon himself, not undeservedly, the fury of a more wary avenger, when, amidst the gaieties of a royal banquet he would have died the death, had not the stout arm of General Lefort drawn back and refrained the hand that was descending to the stroke. But, at the time in question, Schachin was of a different opinion, believing that timely severity would have the salutary consequence of restoring to the minds of numbers reverence for the monarch and fear of punishment. And for this reason—to strike terror into the rest by an example of public vengeance—he on one day broke seventy, and another ninety, upon the cross they so richly deserved.

How sharp was the pain, how great the indignation to which the Czar's Majesty was mightily moved, when he knew of the rebellion of the Strelitz, betrayed openly a mind panting for vengeance. He was still tarrying at Vienna, quite full of the desire of setting out for Italy ; but, fervid as was this curiosity of rambling abroad, it was, nevertheless, speedily extinguished on the announcement of the troubles that had broken out in the bowels of his realm. Going immediately to Lefort (the only person almost that he condescended to treat with intimate familiarity), he thus indignantly broke out : " Tell me, Francis, son of James, how I can reach Moscow, by the shortest way, in a brief space, so that I may wreak vengeance on this great perfidy of my people, with punishments worthy of their flagitious crime. Not one of them shall escape with impunity. Around my royal city, of which, with their impious efforts, they meditated the destruction, I will have gibbets and gallows set upon the walls and ramparts, and each and every of them will I put to a direful death." Nor did he long delay the plan for his justly excited wrath ; he took the quick post, as his ambassador

suggested, and in four weeks time, he had got over about three hundred miles* without accident, and arrived on the 4th of September,—a monarch for the well-disposed, but an avenger for the wicked. His first anxiety, after his arrival, was about the rebellion. In what it consisted? What the insurgents meant? Who had dared to instigate such a crime? And as nobody could answer accurately upon all points, and some pleaded their own ignorance, others the obstinacy of the Strelitz, he began to have suspicions of everybody's loyalty, and began to cogitate about a fresh investigation. The rebels that were kept in custody, in various places in the environs, were all brought in by four regiments of the guards, to a fresh investigation and fresh tortures. Prison, tribunal, and rack, for those that were brought in, was in Bebraschentsko.

(No day, holy or profane, were the inquisitors idle; every day was deemed fit and lawful for torturing. As many as there were accused there were knouts, and every inquisitor was a butcher.†)

* German miles, each equal to about five English.—TRANSL.

† “Quot rei tot knuttæ, quot quæsitores tot carnifices.”—
ORIG.

Prince Feodor Jurowicz Romadonowski showed himself by so much more fitted for his inquiry, as he surpassed the rest in cruelty. The very Grand Duke himself, in consequence of the distrust he had conceived of his subjects, performed the office of inquisitor. He put the interrogatories, he examined the criminals, he urged those that were not confessing, he ordered such Strelitz as were more pertinaciously silent, to be subjected to more cruel tortures; those that had already confessed about many things were questioned about more; those who were bereft of strength and reason, and almost of their senses, by excess of torment, were handed over to the skill of the doctors, who were compelled to restore them to strength, in order that they might be broken down by fresh excruciations. The whole month of October was spent in butchering the backs of the culprits with knout and with flames: no day were those that were left alive exempt from scourging or scorching, or else they were broken upon the wheel, or driven to the gibbet, or slain with the axe—the penalties which were inflicted upon them as soon as their confessions had sufficiently revealed the heads of the rebellion.

THE CHIEFS OF THE REBELLION.

Major* Karpakow was said to be as far beyond the other rebels in treason as he was in official rank. So after being knouted, fire was applied to roast his back to such a degree that he lost both speech and consciousness; and then, as it was feared that death might remove him prematurely, he was commended to the skill of the Czar's physician, Dr. Carbonari, that he might apply such remedies as would have the effect of restoring his expiring strength, and as soon as he was in some degree restored, he was subjected to the question anew, and fainted away under the sharpest tortures.

Batfka Girin, the insurgent ringleader, after undergoing four times the most exquisite tortures, confessing nothing, was condemned to be hanged. But on the very day appointed for his execution, there was led out of prison, with the rebel Strelitz, to the question, a certain youth of twenty years of age, on being confronted with whom, he, of

* Vice-Colonellus locumtenens.—ORIG.

his own accord, broke his stubborn silence, and revealed the counsels of the traitors, with all the circumstances. Now that youth of twenty had fallen in by chance with these rebels near the borders of Smolensko, and being forced to wait on the principal instigators of the mutiny, they took no notice of his listening, nor was his presence forbidden even when they used to deliberate about the success of their nefarious enterprise. When he was dragged along with the rebels before the tribunal, he, in order to prove his innocence the more easily, cast himself at the judge's feet, and with the most ardent sighs implored not to be subjected to the torture—that he would confess all that he knew with the most exact truth. Batka Girin, who was condemned to the halter, was not hanged before having made his judicial confession; for he was one of the prime rebels, and an excellent witness of what he very truly detailed.

Boriska Broskurad was executed in the camp, by command of General Schachin.

Takuska, who had been chosen first Major of the White Regiment, and two other inferior officers, among whom, as they were approaching

Moscow, a dispute arose which occasioned some days' delay, were the cause of their own destruction, and saved the lives of all well-disposed people.

Deacon Ivan Gabrielowicz had, some years previously, courted the Princess Marpha to yield to his passion. The rebels would have this fellow married to Marpha, to be protector of the Strelitz or high chancellor; but in consequence of the sinister turn of their criminal undertaking, his funeral and obsequies, instead of his nuptials, marked the event.

Certain popes that were connected with the Strelitz became sharers in their treason. For they put up prayers to God to favour the efforts of treason, and it was they who carried the images of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Nicholas among armed men, and who had promised to draw the people to the side of the revolt, under the pretence of the marked justice of the cause, and of true piety. Hence one of them was hanged by the Czar's buffoon, near the high church dedicated to the most Holy Trinity; another, being first beheaded with the axe, was set upon the wheel near the same place. Dumnoi Diak

Jichon Mosciwicz (whom the Czar calls his patriarch), was forced to be the butcher of the latter.

SOPHIA.

Wherever ambition has entered into possession there is no room for justice. For ambition has always reasons to allege in its own behalf, and is unmoved at the gulf that lies between empire and subjection. Princess Sophia has the reputation of having intrigued, for the last fourteen years, against her brother's life, and has already been the cause of several seditious movements. She, by her open schemes and factiousness, drove him, who is at once her sovereign and her brother, to consult for his own safety ; especially as the late perils bore ample witness that, as long as she was at liberty, there would be nothing stable in Muscovy. Shut up on this account in the monastery of Nuns, watched daily in the strictest manner, by a guard of the Czar's troops, nevertheless the wiles of this most ambitious princess could not be quite guarded against by all those watchful eyes. She promised to put herself at the head of a new conspiracy of the

Strelitz, and communicated her advice to them—suggesting the manner and the frauds by which the Strelitz might bring their dark and malignant designs into effect. She was interrogated by the Czar himself, touching these attempts, and it is still uncertain what she answered. But this much is certain—that in this act the Czar's Majesty wept for his own lot and Sophia's. Some will have it the Czar was on the point of sentencing her to death, and used this argument : “Mary of Scotland was led forth from prison to the block, by command of her sister Elizabeth, Queen of England—a warning to me to exercise my power over Sophia.” Still once more the brother pardoned a sister's crime, and, instead of penalty, enjoined that she should be banished to a greater distance, in some monastery.

It was rather the lust of satiating her passions than the desire of transferring dominion, that had entangled Princess Marpha in the same rebellious machinations. She wanted to indulge more at ease in her illicit connection with Deacon Ivan Gabrielowicz,* whom she had maintained at her

* Souvarow was his surname. This cleric was the grandfather of the famous Souvárow, and was attached to one of the

own cost, for some years, for that purpose. With her head shaved, she has been thrust into a monastery and does penance for the past.

Fiera and Schukowa, the former Sophia's, the latter Marpha's confidential chamber-woman, were dragged from the Czar's Castle to Bebraschentsko—the place of inquisition—and were both subjected to the torture. When Fiera, stripped naked to the loins, was being scourged with what they call the *knout*, the Czar observed that she was pregnant; and on being asked whether she knew the fact, she did not deny it, and, moreover, indicated a certain chorister as the cause of her burden. By this she liberated herself from further scourging, but not from the penalty of death. For, afterwards, she and Schukowa, who had undergone a long scourging, and had confessed her share in the operations of the traitorous Princess, both expiated their

churches in the Kremlin. His son Basil entered the army as a common soldier, rose by his merit to be an officer, and, consequently, noble, ascended step by step to the rank of full General, and is said to have been a well-informed soldier and an upright man. The son of General Basil, the renowned Field-Marshal Souvarow, created Prince of Italy (Knes Italinski) in 1799, was born in 1729.—TRANSL.

crimes with their lives. Nothing is yet certain about the manner of their execution : some will have it that they were buried up to the neck alive ; others, that they were thrown into the river Ianga that flows just there.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF SOPHIA WITH
THE REBELS.

No garrison is safe where malice and treason have once adopted the idea of upsetting the fortrefs. Malice is never a moment idle ; examines minutely every smallest nook in which she may safely hide the emissaries of her nefarious designs. It was certainly with no other design that so large a guard of soldiers kept watch and ward, day after day, without the gates of the monastery of Nuns, than to observe, with all possible minuteness, this dangerously ambitious Princess, so that she might be unable to plot anything against the safety of the state and the sovereign. Yet all these Argus eyes were not able to hinder her from contriving to raise a truly great and most perilous flame of civil war by means of an abject wretched little mendicant that

used to frequent the very guard. This was a little old woman that begged her daily bread. Sophia took her affections by storm with profuse liberality and, with promise of higher rewards, seduced her to forbidden deeds.

When the old hag, full of such grand hopes, promised to execute to the minutest detail all her lady's bidding, Sophia taught her what to guard against and what to do, and told her that she would pretend to give her a loaf as her usual alms, that she would bring it to the Strelitz and should wait to see whether they would entrust her with any answer. There were letters enclosed in the loaf, in which she assured the rebels that she would make strong efforts in aid of their laudable undertakings; let them only come to the monastery, slay all the guards that would resist; that things had come to such a pass, that there was no happy auspices for them without shedding blood. The rebels in like manner transmitted their answers to Sophia in a loaf. The thing was done several times and the soldiers had no suspicion of it—so ingenious is malice in plotting mischief. After all she deceived herself; and that loaf of which they meant to make the bread of death to

so many innocent people, led to their own richly-deserved ruin, and was most fatal to themselves, as will be plainly understood from the following sentence.

THE SENTENCE PASSED UPON THE REBELS
ON 10TH OCTOBER, 1698.

“Thieves, plunderers, traitors, trampers on the Cross (crucis transgressores), and rebels of the regiment of Theodosius Kolpokow, of the regiment of Athanasius Tzabanow, of the regiment of Ivan Zornoi, of the regiment of Tichon Hundertmark, javelin-casting Strelitz: The Grand Dominator, King and Grand Duke Peter Alexiowicz, Autocrat of Great, Little and White Russia, commands there be told unto them:—

“On the 27th of October last year, (*i.e.* 1698*) according to the letters of him the Grand Dominator and of the Roserati, (the mandate chancery†) there were ordered from Storopzo,

* *Sic*, but properly 1697.—TRANSL.

† *Litteras Roserati (cancellaria mandatoria.)*—See ORIGINAL.

with the army of the Senator and General Prince Michael Gregorowicz Romadonowski, with his associates, his Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels, to be at his, the Grand Dominator's, command in the cities and place appointed.

Theodosius's regiment at Viasma.

Athanasius's regiment at Piella.

Ivan's regiment at Ostheba-Wlodzirowa.

Tichon's regiment at Dorogobuzki.

And they, contrary to his, the Grand Dominator's mandate, went not into these appointed towns, with the said colonels and lieutenant-colonels; but ordered them and their lieutenant-colonels and captains forth of their regiments aforesaid; and in lieu of the same did elect into the said offices rebels, their brother javelin throwers; and with the cannons of the regiments did march in arms from Storopzo upon Moscow; and when below the monastery of the Resurrection the said javelin throwers met Alexius Simonowicz Schachin, with his associates, and a select force along with them; who, when he sent from his army to them thrice to abandon their

opposition to the Great Dominator, and go according to the Dominator's previous commands to the stations appointed, they, on the contrary, setting themselves against the said Dominator's commands, so far from going to the stations appointed for them, did prepare for a conflict of their army against the military servants of the said Dominator, and discharging cannons and small arms wounded very many, and some of those wounded did die.

Moreover, as they were about to proceed to Moscow, they were to halt in the field called the Nun's field, in front of the monastery, to deliver a petition to Princess Sophia Alexiowna, to call upon her to go on directing them as before; furthermore the foldiers on guard at that monastery were to be massacred, and after slaying these they were to have gone on to Moscow, dispersing throughout all the black* suburbs (*in omnia nigra suburbia*) copies of a certain seditious memorial,

* Black : the serf class are in Russia called blacks, from their supposed inferiority of blood. The old dynastic race, whose descendants formed and still form the nucleus of the *haute noblesse* of Russia, spring from Rurik, of Norse or Normandic race, who reigned over that vast country, according to the common computation, from 862 to 878. From him derive no less than 34

and winning over the blacks (*nigros*), stating that the Great Dominator had died beyond sea. They were thus to raise a seditious movement among the serfs, and take them with them to kill the Boyars, to destroy utterly the German suburb, to slay all foreigners and not to admit the Grand Dominator into Moscow. But if the military regiments should not allow them into Moscow, they meant to write also to the regiments of javelin throwers now in his, the Grand Dominator's, active service, and to be aided by them against the said soldiers; and that when the latter javelin throwers should have reached Moscow, then that they, united with those other javelin throwers, would call upon the Princess

existing princely houses, all bearing their titles in virtue of their dynastic descent by immemorial prescription, the *sangre blu* of Russia. The fair-complexioned Rurik (or Roderic) cannot have come alone to the country over which he ruled. His fair-skinned Norman courtiers, probably, were the progenitors of the Boyar families, who constituted the courtiers and *ministeriales* of the princes his descendants, among whom Russia was long partitioned; and were the founts of the great untitled lords, inscribed in the "velvet book," the "book of gold" of the Russian aristocracy. These fair-skinned Northmen doubtless gave the contemptuous name of blacks (*Czarni*) to the dark aboriginal race, who became their hewers of wood and drawers of water.—

TRANSL.

Sophia to direct them, and would slay the said soldiers, murder the Boyars, and would in like manner destroy the German suburb, massacre the foreigners, and would not admit the Dominator into Moscow. Of all which things aforesaid these men have in the examinations and under torture confessed themselves guilty.

“And the Grand Dominator, on account of their having taken matters into their own hands, hath decreed that these plunderers, traitors, and transgressors and rebels, shall be punished with death, in order that by their example others may henceforward learn not to take affairs into their own hands in this manner.”

The sentence being thus framed so as to include all the Strelitz so no tardy repentance was attended with impunity for the crime. For before the Czar's Majesty had set out on his travels a mutiny of the same Strelitz had taken place, on the appeasing of which they were pardoned on condition of never daring to attempt such a course again. This condition was recorded in a public written instrument, by which they bound themselves, even if no law were in force for treason against Majesty, to every torment that could be

thought of, to the most cruel tortures, and to the penalty of death itself, in case by renewed contumacy towards the Sovereign's weal they should admit of anything contrary to their sworn allegiance, and their debt of most humble respect. All confirmed this sanction of the Czar with their own signature, &c.; those who did not know how to write marking with a cross in token of their approval. This was an aggravating fact which closed up the avenue of mercy, and appointed rigorous justice the avenger of treason.

THE FIRST EXECUTION.

10TH OCTOBER, 1698.

To this exhibition of avenging justice the Czar's Majesty invited all the ambassadors of foreign sovereigns, as it were to assert anew on his return that sovereign prerogative of life and death which the rebels had disputed with him.

The barracks in Bebraschentsko end in a bare field which rises to the summit of a rather steep hill. This was the place appointed for the exe-

cutions. Here were planted the gibbet stakes, on which the foul heads of these confessedly guilty wretches were to be set, to protract their ignominy beyond death. There the first scene of the tragedy lay exposed. The strangers that had gathered to the spectacle were kept aloof from too close approach; the whole regiment of guards was drawn up in array under arms. A little further off, on a high *tumulus* in the area of the place, there was a multitude of Muscovites, crowded and crushing together in a dense circle. A German Major* was then my companion; he concealed his nationality in a Muscovite dress, besides which he relied upon his military rank and the liberty that he might take in consequence of being entitled by reason of his being in the service of the Czar to share in the privileges of the Muscovites. He mingled with the thronging crowd of Muscovites, and when he came back announced that five rebel heads had been cut off in that spot by an axe that was swung by the noblest arm of all Muscovy. The

* *Supremus-Vigiliarum-præfectus, i. e., Oberst-wachmeister*, or Major.—TRANSL.

river Jaufa flows past the barracks in Bebrasch-entfko, and divides them in two.

On the opposite side of this stream there were a hundred criminals set upon those little Muscovite carts which the natives call Sbofek, awaiting the hour of the death they had to undergo. There was a cart for every criminal, and a soldier to guard each. No priestly office was to be seen ; as if the condemned were unworthy of that pious compassion. But they all bore lighted tapers in their hands, not to die without light and cross. The horrors of impending death were increased by the piteous lamentations of their women, the sobbing on every side, and the shrieks of the dying that rung upon the sad array. The mother wept for her son, the daughter deplored a parent's fate, the wife lamenting a husband's lot, bemoaned along with the others, from whom the various ties of blood and kindred drew tears of sad farewell. But when the horses, urged to a sharp pace, drew them off to the place of their doom, the wail of the women rose into louder sobs and moans. As they tried to keep up with them, forms of expression like these bespoke their grief, as others

explained them to me : “ Why are you torn from me so soon ? Why do you desert me ? Is a last embrace then denied me ? Why am I hindered from bidding him farewell ? ” With complaints like these they tried to follow their friends when they could not keep up with their rapid course. From a country seat belonging to General Schachin one hundred and thirty more Strelitz were led forth to die. At each side of all the city gates there was a gibbet erected, each of which was loaded with six rebels on that day.

When all were duly brought to the place of execution, and the half dozens were duly distributed at their several gibbets, the Czar’s Majesty, dressed in a green Polish cloak, and attended by a numerous suite of Muscovite nobles, came to the gate where, by his Majesty’s command, the imperial Lord Envoy had stopped in his own carriage, along with the representatives of Poland and Denmark. Next them was Major-General de Carlowiz, who had conducted his Majesty on his way from Poland, and a great many other foreigners, among whom the Muscovites mingled round about the gate. Then the proclamation

of the sentence began, the Czar exhorting all the bystanders to mark well its tenor. As the executioner was unable to dispatch so many criminals, some military officers, by command of the Czar, came under compulsion to aid in this butcher's task. The guilty were neither chained nor fettered; but logs were tied to their legs, which hindered them from walking fast, but still allowed them the use of their feet. They strove of their own accord to ascend the ladder, making the sign of the cross towards the four quarters of the world; they themselves covered their eyes and faces with a piece of linen (which is a national custom); very many putting their necks into the halter sprang headlong of themselves from the gallows, in order to precipitate their end. There were counted two hundred and thirty that expiated their flagitious conduct by halter and gibbet.

SECOND EXECUTION—

13TH OCTOBER, 1698.

Although all those that were accomplices of the rebellion were condemned to death, yet the

Czar's Majesty would not dispense with strict investigation. The more so as the unripe years and judgment of many seemed to bespeak mercy, as they were, as one may say, rather victims of error than of deliberate crime. In such case the penalty of death was commuted into some corporal infliction—such as, for instance, the cutting off of their ears and noses, to mark them with ignominy for life—a life to be passed, not as previously, in the heart of the realm, but in various and barbarous places on the frontiers of Muscovy. To such places fifty were transported to-day, after being castigated in the manner prescribed.

THIRD EXECUTION—

17TH OCTOBER, 1698.

Only six were beheaded to-day, who had the advantage of rank over the others, if rank be a distinction of honour in executed criminals.

FOURTH EXECUTION—

21ST OCTOBER, 1698.

To prove to all the people how holy and

inviolable are those walls of the city, which the Strelitz rashly meditated scaling in a sudden assault, beams were run out from all the embrasures in the walls near the gates, on each of which two rebels were hanged. This day beheld about two hundred and fifty die that death. There are few cities fortified with as many palisades as Moscow has given gibbets to her guardian Strelitz.

FIFTH EXECUTION—

23RD OCTOBER, 1698.

This differed considerably from those that preceded. The manner of it was quite different, and hardly credible. Three hundred and thirty at a time were led out together to the fatal axe's stroke, and embrued the whole plain with native but impious blood: for all the Boyars, Senators of the realm, Dumnoi, Diaks, and so forth, that were present at the council constituted against the rebel Strelitz, had been summoned by the Czar's command to Bebraschentsko, and enjoined to take upon themselves the hangman's office. Some struck the blow unsteadily, and with trembling hands assumed this new and unaccustomed

task. The most unfortunate stroke among all the Boyars was given by him * whose erring sword struck the back instead of the neck, and thus chopping the Strelitz almost in halves, would have roused him to desperation with pain, had not Alexasca reached the unhappy wretch a surer blow of an axe on the neck.

Prince Romadonowski, under whose command previous to the mutiny these four regiments were to have watched the turbulent gatherings in Poland on the frontier, beheaded, according to order, one out of each regiment. Lastly, to every Boyar a Strelitz was led up, whom he was to behead. The Czar, in his saddle, looked on at the whole tragedy.

SEVENTH EXECUTION—

27TH OCTOBER, 1698.

To-day was assigned for the punishment of the popes—that is to say, of those who by carrying

* That this was probably Prince Galizin, seems from the entry in the Diary under 27 Oct., 1698; though there is here a slight discrepancy as to the precise day on which the magnates performed as *exécuteurs des hautes œuvres* in this terrific tragedy.

—TRANSL.

images to induce the serfs to side with the Strelitz, had invoked the aid of God with the holy rites of his altars for the happy success of this impious plot. The place selected by the judge for the execution was the open space in front of the church of the most Holy Trinity, which is the high church of Moscow. The ignominious gibbet cross awaited the popes, by way of reward in suit with the thousands of signs of the cross they had made, and as their fee for all the benedictions they had given to the refractory troops. The court jester, in the mimic attire of a pope, made the halter ready, and adjusted it, as it was held to be wrong to subject a pope to the hands of the common hangman. A certain Dumnoi struck off the head of another pope, and set his corpse upon the ignominious wheel. Close to the church, too, the halter and wheel proclaimed the enormity of the crime of their guilty burden to the passers by.

The Czar's Majesty looked on from his carriage while the popes were hurried to execution. To the populace, who stood around in great numbers, he spoke a few words touching the perfidy of the popes, adding the threat,

“Henceforward let no one dare to ask any pope to pray for such an intention.” A little while before the execution of the popes, two rebels, brothers, having had their thighs and other members broken in front of the Castle of the Kremlin, were set alive upon the wheel: twenty others on whom the axe had done its office lay lifeless around these wheels. The two that were bound upon the wheel beheld their third brother among the dead. Nobody will easily believe how lamentable were their cries and howls, unless he has well weighed their excruciations and the greatness of their tortures. I saw their broken thighs tied to the wheel with ropes strained as tightly as possible, so that in all that deluge of torture I do believe none can have exceeded that of the utter impossibility of the least movement. Their miserable cries had struck the Czar as he was being driven past. He went up to the wheels, and first promised speedy death, and afterwards proffered them a free pardon, if they would confess sincerely. But when upon the very wheel he found them more obstinate than ever, and that they would give no other answer than that they would confess nothing, and

that their penalty was nearly paid in full, the Czar left them to the agonies of death, and hastened on to the Monastery of the Nuns, in front of which monastery there were thirty gibbets erected in a quadrangular shape, from which there hung two hundred and thirty Strelitz. The three principal ringleaders, who presented a petition to Sophia, touching the administration of the realm, were hanged close to the windows of that princess, presenting, as it were, the petitions that were placed in their hands, so near that Sophia might with ease touch them. Perhaps this was in order to load Sophia with that remorse in every way, which I believe drove her to take the religious habit, in order to pass to a better life.

LAST EXECUTION—

31ST OCTOBER, 1698.

Again, in front of the Kremlin Castle two others, whose thighs and extremities had been broken, and who were tied alive to the wheel, with horrid lamentations throughout the afternoon and the following night, closed their

miserable existence in the utmost agony. One of them, the younger of the two, survived amidst his enduring tortures until noon the following day. The Czar dined at his ease (*commode*) with the Boyar Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin, all the representatives and the Czar's ministers being present. The successive and earnest supplications of all present induced the monarch, who was long reluctant, to give command to that Gabriel who is so well known at his court that an end might be put with a ball to the life and pangs of the criminal that still continued breathing.

For the remainder of the rebels, who were still guarded in places round about, their respective places of confinement were also their places of execution, lest by collecting them all together this torturing and butchery in the one place of such a multitude of men, should smell of tyranny. And especially lest the minds of the citizens, already terror-stricken at so many melancholy exhibitions of their perishing fellow men should dread every kind of cruelty from their sovereign.

But considering the daily perils to which the

Czar's Majesty was hitherto exposed, without an hour's security, and hardly escaping from many snares, he was very naturally always in great apprehension of the exceeding treachery of the Strelitz, so that he fairly concluded not to tolerate a single Strelitz in his empire,—to banish all of them that remained to the farthest confines of Muscovy after having almost extirpated the very name. In the provinces, leave was given to any that preferred to renounce military service for ever, and with the consent of the Woivodes to addict themselves to domestic services. Nor were they quite innocent: for the officers that were quartered in the camp at Azow to keep ward against the hostile inroads of the enemy, told how they were never secure, and hourly expected an atrocious outbreak of treason from the Strelitz; nor was there any doubt but that they had very ambiguous sympathies for the fortunes of the other rebels. All the wives of the Strelitz were commanded to leave the neighbourhood of Moscow, and thus experienced the consequences of the crimes of their husbands. It was forbidden by Ukase, under penalty of death, for any person to keep any of them or afford them

secret harbour, unless they would send them out of Moscow to serve upon their estates.

Others have already stated that the Russians are sprung from the Roxolans, the name being only slightly altered. More recently the river Moskwa, which flows past the metropolis of Muscovy has given rise to their name of Muscovites. Nor have there been wanting men of genius to describe the times when this race, whom some will have it came from beyond seas, grew to their mighty strength from small beginnings, from their first royal seat in Novogrod to Kiew, then Wlodomir, and lastly Moscow. By the tyranny of Ivan Basilowicz which served him to subdue to himself so many vast neighbouring regions, the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, either by the death of their rulers or their imprisonment, Muscovy grew to its present immensity of empire, the very hugeness of which has often already proved a source of misery, and the incurable wounds of which the restless minds of the people are constantly tearing open before they heal.

In the year 1682 civil dissensions, kept up by an ambitious woman, wreaked fearful internecine

cruelties in rapine, and slaughter, and pillage. They attribute these great misfortunes to the wily machinations of Princess Sophia. For when the late Grand Duke Feodor Alexiowicz, feeling his malady growing worse every day, foresaw that death was at hand, he commended the affairs of the realm of Muscovy to his elder brother Ivan Alexiowicz, an exceedingly mild prince, but one who appeared almost imbecile, and who, on account of many other corporal defects was little suited to the cares and anxieties of sovereignty. But when the Grand Duke was dead the Czarine Nathalia Kirilowna, a princess of most subtle tact, studied very cleverly to persuade the Boyars and Magnates of the realm that it would be better to crown her son Peter Alexiowicz, the present Czar, passing over Ivan; and to appoint his kinsman Nareskin, his guardian until he should grow to maturity of intellect—alleging, that his noble nature, the vivid force of his genius, and the patience of labour that shone forth in his tender years, were a sufficient demonstration of his greatness of soul and his kingly qualities.

Meanwhile, Princess Sophia, a woman of no less artifice and cunning, having discovered the

design of the Czarine Nathalia, laboured to explode it with countermines. It seemed to her that a deadly thunderbolt would be to persuade the foldiers that the Czar, her own brother, had fallen a victim to the treason of the Boyars, and perished by poison they had brought to him. To give support to her assertion, she planned a more perilous deceit. It was the custom time out of mind to distribute brandy—a breakfast of the Russian fashion—to the foldiers of the guard who had to be present in full numbers at the funeral and burial service for the deceased Czar. With this beverage she mixed a most noxious poison; and, by an additional atrocity, contrived to turn against the Boyars the odium of the crime she had perpetrated herself. She gave warning to the foldiers not to drink the brandy that would be distributed,—for that it was poisoned and would be deadly to any that would taste it,—that the same dark fate menaced the foldiers as had beset the Czar; that all the Boyars were poisoners; that the lives of the foldiers were in imminent danger; that their only chance of safety was in daringly avenging at once the murder of their sovereign and the

schemes laid against themselves. The fate of one Strelitz, who after swallowing the poisoned brandy became swollen up and died, persuaded them that Sophia warned them truly and loyally. Hence they began to mutter dark things against the Boyars, and invoke the spirit of their dead Czar. It seemed but just to be angered with poisoners, and the whole people was filled with the magnitude of the danger, and was in a state of wrathful fermentation against the magnates. Sixty thousand rioters in the first outbreak of their fury seized upon the two personal physicians of his Majesty the Czar, Doctors Daniel and Guthbier, and with tortures, the cruelty of which is utterly beyond description, urged them to confess the crimes touching which, misled by the representations of Sophia, they rather upbraided than interrogated them. One of the doctors thought to hide himself in the German suburb until the fury of the populace who thirsted for his blood should have worn itself out. But with the true instinct of the savage mob they guessed that the persons who were concealing him must be Germans. Steel, fire, and massacre were threatened to all of German blood if they

should dare to afford further harbour to a man guilty of *leze majesty*.

The Germans became greatly alarmed that they would all have to pay the penalty from which they were endeavouring to save one: and lest all should perish on his account, the doctor, disguised as a beggar, got off into the fields to free the innocent from the contagion of his evil fortune. But, being betrayed into the hands of the ferocious populace, he was shortly after hacked to pieces by the swords of those madly raging men. When the doctors had been murdered in this horrible manner, the mob imperiously demanded that the Boyars who were privy to the poisoning and to the Czar's death, should be given up to them for punishment, and that a sum of 500,000 ducats* should be paid to them for arrears of their pay. The tolling of the great bell was the signal agreed upon for the commencement of a violent onslaught. They battered the castle with cannon, they broke open the gates, rushed in, and hurled all the magnates

* The ducats known in Russia and Poland, were those of Holland for the most part, and were equivalent to about ten shillings of English money.—TRANSL.

they could find out of the windows upon the lances beneath, and put them to death with the most cruel butchery. Nothing was held sacred, no respect was had to the majesty of the dead sovereign whose manes they had resolved to appease with these cruel offerings, the apartments were devastated, the treasury plundered, everything holy profaned, the property of those massacred sold to the highest bidder, the very monasteries vexed and exhausted with a most iniquitous exaction of several millions. Rebellion even raised the ignominious gibbet which should have been its own meed, and here the massacred Boyars were registered as traitors to their country—for all the rights of government were usurped. They had already come to the resolution of turning their wrath upon the Germans in the same way, when one of the Strelitz, whose hoary and aged locks had won authority over them, discouraged his companions by asking them: “Why attack the Germans? Why attack innocent people? It would be a crime to injure these people, for they have done nothing against us. Beware; you will have to pay dearly for repentance that comes too late.

Sweden protects them, and her fierce sword will avenge their wrongs as if they were her own." These words converted them to more wholesome counsels, and they abstained from the intended massacre. Many thousands of men without distinction of guilt or innocence were swept away in this pestilent outbreak. In the part of the city called Kitaigorod alone, five thousand men who retreated thither to defend their lives from massacre, perished in various ways.

At length the two princes, Ivan and Peter, being raised jointly to the supreme sway, the discords of the rest subsided. Then an edict was published against the rebels, penalties decreed against them, execution followed, and the ignominious gibbet that was raised by unrighteousness, was laid prostrate by lawful authority. But the tranquillity of the realm was not of long duration. In the year 1688 a fearful storm swept fiercely upon the Muscovites. Several of the Boyars were put to death, and the rebels were ravening for the blood of the Czars who had fled to the monastery of Troycza for safety. On that occasion Mr. Lefort, with a very small

band of soldiers whose loyalty was greater than their numbers, was the first to set out for the monastery of Troycza, and thus acquired in the highest degree the favour of the Czar, by the propitious gales of which he rose rapidly to the envied rank of General-in-Chief and Admiral, which had never before been conferred upon a foreigner, and recently he was the Czar's ambassador to several European crowned heads. The most serene Czar Peter Alexiowicz incurred several other dangers from the perfidy of his subjects, but overcame all snares, treasons, and frauds with prodigious good fortune. Only a few days before he left Moscow, a plot of some great persons was discovered against his life, a criminal design which was very near to have succeeded, and when these were brought to punishment others followed in their footsteps, who expected to perpetrate evil against him in his absence with greater impunity.

THE CZAR'S GENEALOGY.



HE descends from that most ancient and noble flock of the Princes Romanowicz, which was closely allied with the line of the Grand Dukes that became extinct, as is known, in the person of Feodor Ivanowicz the son of the great tyrant Ivan Basilowicz. His great grandfather was Knez Feodor Nikitiz, a man who had followed war from his youth, who had been successful and had won renown and very high general esteem. When of reverend years he was made patriarch, exchanging thus the helmet of military glory for the purple of high priesthood, and took the name of Philarete Nikitiz. He died in 1633.

His great grandmother was Iconomafia, daughter of the tyrant Ivan Basilowicz. The son of this marriage, Michael Feodorowicz, was the grandfather of the present Czar; and, on the expulsion of the false Dmitri, in 1613, succeeded, by the suffrages of the Muscovites, to the government of the State. After twenty-three years of

a prosperous reign over the Muscovites, during which he earned great applause, he died on the 12th of July, 1645. He had, by his first wife, Iconomafia, two Princes: Alexis Michaelowicz, born the 17th of March, 1630, who succeeded him upon the throne; and Ivan Michaelowicz, born the 1st of June, 1631, and who died on the 8th of January, 1639. By Eudoxia Lukowna, who died within eight days after him, he left an only daughter, Irene, who was betrothed to Count Waldemar, natural son of King Christian IV., of Denmark, but who died before marriage.

Alexis Michaelowicz the very next day after his father's death, being then in his sixteenth year, was solemnly inaugurated Grand Duke; and shortly after chose for his wife Ilia Danielowa, of the noble family of Miloslawski. She bore him four Princes and three Princesses. The eldest, born in 1653, was baptized Alexis Alexiowicz, who, in 1667, when King Casimir abdicated the throne of Poland, was proposed, with great and exceedingly rich offers, as a candidate for the crown of that country: but he died, in 1670, before his father. The second, Feodor

Alexiowicz, born in 1657, succeeded to his father's sceptre.

The last-mentioned Prince was twice married. His first wife, Euphemia Rutetzki, died in childbirth together with her infant in 1681. He married, secondly, Maria Euphrosina Marveona, of the most noble Polish family of Lupropin—an alliance which was hateful to his people, and which drew upon him the detestation of the Boyars, and at last death by poison upon both himself and his wife on the 27th of April, 1682.

The third son of Czar Alexis Michaelowicz, was Michael, who died in 1669.

The fourth was Ivan Alexiowicz, born in 1663, who was raised to the throne, jointly with his brother, in 1682, and died in January, 1696.

The eldest Princess, Irene, died in 1670. The second, Sophia, is the torch and trumpet of the many dangerous seditions that have hitherto taken place in Muscovy. The third Princess was Marina.* These two last are still

* Elsewhere and usually called by our author, Marpha.—
TRANSL.

living, but were forced into a monastery in 1688, on account of the rebellion they had raised.

Those above named were the issue of Czar Alexis Michaelowicz, by his first marriage. By his second union, with Nathalia Kirilowna, of the Nareskin family, he had two children: Peter Alexiowicz, the now happily reigning Czar of the Muscovites, born on the 11th of June, 1672; and Nathalia, his cherished sister, who up to this has not been privy to any plot.

Peter and his brother Ivan Alexiowicz succeeded jointly to the sceptre of Muscovy, on the death of their father, in 1682; but on the outbreak of the fresh revolt in 1688, Ivan Alexiowicz, who was a lover of quiet, ceded of his own free will the whole sovereign power to his brother.

HIS MAJESTY THE CZAR.

Those brilliant gifts of nature and of soul which have spread his fame throughout almost every realm of the earth, pointed him out from

his infancy for kingly power and sovereign sway. A well set stature, well proportioned limbs, the vivacity of his youth, and an address beyond his years, so conciliated the affections and good will of his subjects, on account of their expectations of his natural qualifications, that he was openly preferred by the contending suffrages of numbers of people to his brother Ivan Alexiowicz, who was called to the throne of his progenitors by that pre-eminence of primogeniture which is held sacred by the nations. Ever self-reliant, he contemns death and danger, the apprehension of which terrifies others. Often has he gone quite alone to traitors and conspirators against his life, and either from their reflection on the greatness of their crime, or dread and remorse for their divulged treason alone he has made them quail by his Majestic presence ; and, lest this creeping and dangerous pest should spread, he has delivered them up to chains and prison. In 1694 he sailed out of the port of Archangel, into the North Sea, beyond Cola. A storm arose and drove the ships upon the most perilous rocks. The seamen were already crying out in despair ; the Boyars, who had accompanied their

sovereign, had betaken themselves to their prayers and their devotion of making thousands of crossings—no doubt in terror at the contemplation of such an awful shipwreck. Alone, amidst the fury of the wild sea, the fearless Czar took the helm with a most cheerful countenance, restored courage to their despairing souls, and, until the sea subsided, found an asylum for life and limb on that very rock upon which, in rough weather, many vessels had been a prey to the foaming brine.

A few years ago, before his two years' tour, he told his magnates, at Szeremetow's, at whose house he was dining, to what Saint, under God's providence, he ascribed his happy escape from that tempest, "When," said he, "I was sailing to Slowiczi Monastir from Archangel, with several of you, I was, as you know, in danger of shipwreck. How great was the horror of death and the dread of what seemed certain destruction that beset your minds, I forbear to record. Now we have escaped that danger, we have got through our peril, but I hope you will think with me, that it is but right to do what I swore to do, and fulfil the vow I made to

heaven. I then proffered a vow to God and to my holy patron, the Apostle Peter, that I would go to Rome to pray at his tomb, less out of anxiety for my own safety than for all yours. Tell me, Boris Petrowicz," thus he addressed Szeremetow, "what are the country and the towns like? As you have been in those parts you must be able to tell all about them." Szeremetow praised the amenity and beauty of the country, and the Czar subjoined: "Some of you shall come with me when I am going there; when the Turk has been humbled, I will acquit myself of my vow." His late most serene mother tried to discourage him from this project, and through her the Russians suggested many figments against the Apostolic See. His answer to her was: "If you had not been my mother I could hardly restrain myself. My veneration for that name pleads your excuse for what you have dared to speak. But know that death is the penalty that awaits whosoever henceforward shall presume to blame my intention or resist it." And to Rome assuredly he would have gone in performance of his vow, had not such pressing dangers summoned him back to Mos-

cow, on the breaking out of a revolt in his realm.*

With what spirit, too, he laboured to introduce into Muscovy those polite arts that had for ages been proscribed there, may be easily gathered from his having sent into various countries of Europe,—into Germany, Italy, England, and Holland,—the more talented children of his principal subjects, in order that they might learn, by intercourse, the wisdom and arts of the most

* Von Adelung (*Kritisch literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland*) gives the following very curious extract, with reference to Peter's supposed propensity at that time to Catholicism, from the ambassador von Guarient's second report from Moscow, dated 12th August, 1698, which remains in MS. in the Vienna Archives. That report bears the title: "Relation des Kais. Gefandten Ignaz von Guarient and Rall über die Ankunft des Erzbischofs von Ancyra Petrus Paulus Palma zu Moskau;" at the close of which the ambassador speaks of an unfavourable report about the war which had got abroad, but doubts its accuracy, and says that he heard from well-informed persons: "das derlei Unglücksnachrichten von dem Ministerium aus sonderer Politik darumben aufgesprengt worden, des Czaren Intention nach Italien zu gehen ganz verhindern, und selbigen sich desto ehunder in seinem Reich einfinden möchte, massen alzugewiss, dass diese unternehmende rayß Russen, Calviner und Lutheraner in grosse Bestürzung und noch grösseren Argwohn einer innerlich-guelführender Propension zu dem Catholicismo täglich mehr setzen sollte."—(See Von Adelung, *Kritisch literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland*. St. Peterburgh and Leipzig, 1845. Vol. II., pp. 392, *et seq.*).—TRANSL.

polished nations, and on their return be ornaments of Muscovy, and in their turn excite their juniors to the like deserts. He made known his reasons for this plan, some years ago, to his Boyars, explaining its utility to them. They all commended the monarch's prudence, but insinuated that such immense good, however desirable it might be, was unattainable. That the genius of the Muscovites was unsuited to such pursuits; that the money expended on it would be wasted in vain; and that he would fatigue himself and his subjects with profitless labour. The Czar was indignant at these sayings, which were only worthy of the profound ignorance of those that gave utterance to them. For they liked their benighted darkness, and nothing but shame at their own deformity was capable of drawing them into the light. "Are we then born less blest than other nations," the Czar continued, "that the divinity should have infused inept minds into our bodies? Have we not hands? Have we not eyes? Have we not the same habit of body that suffices foreign nations for their internal culture? Why have we alone degenerate and rude souls? Why

should we alone be left out as unworthy of the glory of human science? By Hercules! we have the same minds; we can do like other folk if we only will it. For nature has given to all mankind the same groundwork and seed of virtues; we are all born to all those things; when the stimulus is applied, all those properties of the soul that have been, as it were, sleeping, shall be awakened." The greatest things may be expected from such a Prince. Let the Muscovites congratulate themselves on the treasure they possess in him, for they are now really fortunate. He chose his wife in the family of Lubochin,* and she bore him a son named Alexis Petrowicz, a youth splendidly gifted and adorned with ingenuous virtues, on whom rest the hopes of his father, and the fortunes and tranquillity of Muscovy.

ESPOUSALS OF THE CZAR.

Different times call for different manners. It

* The family of Lapoukine, which still flourishes, is of high race, inscribed in the velvet book, and dates from the 15th century. They were created princes in the last century.—(*Notices des Princip. Fam. de la Russie.* Paris, 1845.)—TRANSL.

may, indeed, have formerly been the practice in Russia to assemble all the maidens of Muscovy that were of comely form and remarkable beauty when the Czar was thinking of marrying, in order that he might select whichever pleased him best. But the custom is become obsolete ; and the marriages of the Czars have of late been mostly decided by the advice of those who by official rank or favour were raised to the honour of standing beside the throne. Polygamy, too, has fallen into desuetude, and they hold it to be sinful to share the nuptial bed with a number of select concubines. But should the Czarina be sterile, then the Czar may shut her up in a monastery, and is at liberty to look out for a more fruitful union. Besides sterility there are other causes of repudiation. We must believe that other sovereigns do nothing rashly, though we, as it often happens, cannot account for their motives. Thus, the wife of the present Czar, who, as she bore him a prince, could by no means be said to be sterile, has nevertheless been repudiated—a divorce which, no doubt, is grounded upon most grave causes, the weight of which we may perhaps conjecture from the fact

that when the Czar was lying outside of Azow he refused to return until he should be certain that his wife's head had been shaved, and that she had been shut up in a monastery called Suftalski, about thirty miles distant from Moscow.

To seek for a wife among foreign princes has, up to this, been a perilous experiment for a Czar, the Boyars and leading people holding out vain apprehensions that by foreign marriages foreign and new-fangled manners would be most perniciously substituted in their country, that ancient usages would become corrupted, the purity of the religion of their fathers be imperilled, and, in short, all Muscovy be exposed to the utmost danger. And the only reason they allege for the poisoning of Czar Feodor Alexiowicz is that he had chosen a wife out of the Polish family of Lupropin. At length some hope is dawning that a gentler spirit is beginning to breathe over Muscovy, in order to the perfect development of which the Czar has taken some new measures of exceeding wisdom, for the purpose of civilising his subjects by more frequent intercourse with foreign nations; and they may thus come to like

what they have hitherto persecuted with so much disgust ! They are beginning to desire marriages with foreign nations, now that they learn that there are no holier bonds to conciliate friendship between nations, and to settle wars—nay, how often they give laws to the victors. Many believe that the Czar divorced the wife whom he has shut up in a convent with the design of marrying a foreigner.

MILITARY POWER.

None but the Tartars fear the armies of the Czar. Their successes in Poland and Sweden, I think, must not be attributed to their valour, but to a kind of panic fear and the evil star of the conquered. It is an easy matter for them to call out several thousand men against the enemy ; but they are a mere uncouth mob, which, overcome by its own size, loses the victory it had but just gained. Yet if they were as stout of heart, and as well versed in military science, as they are numerous, strong of body, and patient of fatigue, their neighbours would have cause to fear. But

now, from a slothful genius and habits of slavery, they have neither stomach for great things, nor do they achieve them. Count James de la Garde, general of the Swedish militia, in the year 1611, with 8000 men put 200,000 Muscovites to flight. When they first beleaguered Azow, a fortress of the Perecop Tartars, situated at the confluence of the Tanaij, near the Palus Meotides,* a cat jumping into the Czar's camp, out of the city, threw many thousand Muscovites with panic terror into a disgraceful flight; and having been caught afterwards, and brought when the expedition was over to Moscow, is carefully kept to this day by the Czar's command in Bebraschentsko. Although in the stubborn defence of towns against great besieging forces they have sometimes been worthy of praise, nevertheless, in the field, against the Swedes and the Poles, they were generally defeated, and often were put to great slaughter. What Charidemus saw wanting in the camp of Darius, is not to be found to this day among the Muscovites—namely, a stout body of veteran and

* The Sea of Azow.—TRANSL.

disciplined troops, men and arms, and banners in regular array, intent upon the word of command of their officers, and drilled to keep their ranks; where all obey, like one man, the word to halt, wheel, charge, change order, and the men know what they have to do as well as those that command them.

THE INFANTRY.

The Strelitz were all musqueteers, under the name of javelin-men, and were the same to the Muscovites as the Janissaries are to the Turks. The number of them in pay varied from 12,000 to 20,000. They were the most dexterous of the Muscovites, and for that reason the Czar's body-guard; and the guards of his capital were chosen from them. They prided themselves on the signal privileges and great immunities that had been conferred upon them, which were nearly as great as those of the old Roman soldier. Their annual pay was seven roubles and shekels and twelve measures of oats; but by the commerce which they were allowed to

exercise they often attained great and envied riches. In Moscow their houses occupied a vast space in the Czar's own capital; but after the late rebellion had led to the condemnation of many thousands of Strelitz to death, even these houses, lest they should remain a memorial of this impious faction, were, by the Czar's commands, uprooted from the foundations and broken to pieces.

When all the Strelitz had been put to death, or exiled, he substituted in their stead four regiments, after the system of the German armies, as regards officers and their rank. It is forbidden to call them Strelitz, as if, by inheriting the name, they might become also the heirs of the crimes that were perpetrated by those who bore it. There are only four of these regiments, but they constitute a force of 8000 men. The first was Gordon's; the second, Lefort's; the third Bebraschentsko; the fourth, Simonowski. That called Bebraschentsko was lately broken up, all the men composing it being drafted by the Czar into the sea service. When they were about to take the field there were as many armies as I have enumerated regiments. Thence

it comes that the chief of a regiment is not a colonel, but a general. For to every general of those regiments a certain territorial district is assigned, from which, according as the necessities of war may demand, the serfs are to be driven from their huts into the ranks, until the requisite number be filled up; and thus, what was a regiment in garrison, swells out of garrison into an army in its huge proportions. They are then broken up into troops of a thousand each, which receive the title of regiments, and are usually put under the command of German colonels; for there are several German colonels without regiments living in Moscow on half-pay, unless when on actual service. When a campaign has been decided upon, and preparations are being made to march against the enemy, these officers are appointed as regimental commandants over a mob of the lowest and most uncouth ragamuffins. When the expedition is over, the commanding officer has no further authority over his men, who go back again to the plough, alternate peasants and soldiers, at one time with arms in their hands, and next moment driving the plough.

It costs but little to oppose to the enemy an almost incredible multitude of this tumultuary host of louts, especially as all those that are called upon to serve are obliged to find their own provisions. Hence commissariat officers are quite unknown, and the very name is incomprehensible to the Muscovites, who say that it is not the Czar's business to look after provisions for private individuals, and that it is a matter which belongs to each one in his own particular; yet certain it is that more mischief than advantage results thence to the state. For how many die of famine—how many towns, villages, and hamlets, widowed of their inhabitants, degenerate into a waste and solitary wilderness. Besides which the changing from year to year, according to the system by which these most wretched peasants have to serve in turn, is exceedingly pernicious to discipline and the art of war. For those that are under arms this year being freed from service the next, the result is that the troops are always fresh, raw, and inept soldiers. Nor can the fidelity of the recruiting officers be very great. They will be sure to study their own pecuniary interest, and not impress the most

suitable, but the poorer or closer-handed, who either will not, or cannot, purchase their exemption.

A shabby army it is, good foot, and good sport for an enemy, unless by some chance they should happen to meet with their peers. The Czar perceived what a useless expense this inept militia was, and most wisely resolved to correct the inveterate error of his nation. They were assembling in Bialogrod an army of four and twenty thousand peasants, whom he absolved from their military oath and sent back to till their fields, hoping for more profit thence; and imposing as their sole additional burden that they should pay a poll tax of a rouble per annum to the Czar. Prince Repnin, Colonel of Dragoons, set out for Casan and Astracan to levy ten thousand men, according to the German system, which the Russians are unaccustomed to, and others were sent off by the Czar with a similar commission to other regions and localities. He had made up his mind to raise a standing army of 60,000 infantry in his own pay, most sagely considering that it is only the veteran foldier who has been broken in by many years of

training that is worthy of the glory of real warfare.*

THE CAVALRY.

The Muscovite cavalry is composed of nobles and those whom people of high rank are obliged to furnish, and many of the latter class are domestic servants. When the Great General, or the Commander-in-Chief, who is so called in the armies of the Czar, is about to march on an expedition, he causes proclamation to be made by a herald† when the expedition is to take place, and has it intimated to the nobles to present themselves with a proper number of serfs fitted out for war. When this is done they all buckle on their weapons, and, with hearts full of dismay at the chances that may await them, hasten to the appointed rendezvous. For their minds are filled with a double fear; in the first place, that of the Czar's indignation if they should be slothful in fulfilling his behests; and,

* While these regular levies were as yet fresh recruits they were utterly routed, in 1700, by Charles XII. at Narva.—
TRANSL.

† “*Præconis voce.*”—*ORIG.*

in the second place, that of the risk which hangs over men about to engage in mortal strife with the enemy. Nor do they consider it any disgrace to purchase at great cost the permission to live sluggishly at home and deprecate the perils of war. Nay, they go the length of contending that some Germans of chivalrous mould must be demented when they strive and labour and entreat to be allowed to follow the army into the field, and into all the very manifest dangers that attend military service. Such Germans as these they consider either to have little wit, or to entertain fraudulent designs against the state. For what can they mean? What sane thought could make them of their own accord expose themselves deliberately to danger? Good sooth! they wot not of that heaven-born something that lies hid within the man whom valour leads, amidst wounds and death, by praiseworthy ambition to the palm of glory. Their cavalry is armed with bows and arrows; their spears or lances are short; they are all arranged according to the Turkish manner. The dragoons have been armed for the last two years with carbines and pistols. If we may form an estimate of

these fellows from the rash audacity of their crimes, they are fitter for robbery than for right-ful war.

There is another description of infantry who use arms curved in the shape of a half-moon, and which they call *Bardisch*. These men, while the army is being arrayed, are sent forward as the strength and bulwark of the host, and are the first to attack the enemy, and are fierce until the arrows of their opponents begin to shower deadly wounds among them. Their design is either to make a great impression by a sudden shock or to fly; but when they see their comrades struggling without duly propitious success, and pressed upon and being slain, they are quite overcome at the sight of the others that are perishing, and so lose heart that, as it were, lifeless with fear, they cast away their arms, bid one another farewell, and without the idea of resistance, they stretch out their necks to make the stroke of their enemies' swords more sure, and concede the victory to the foe by their cowardice. Should the enemy pursue them in their flight from battle they so abandon themselves to the victors as not even to ask for life.

As there is still no solid settlement of peace between the Muscovites and the Turk, through the fault of the ambassador, who, without due consideration of future contingencies, made a pact for a mere truce for two years, the Czar is gathering, with great solicitude, soldiers and *matériel* enough to repulse and overthrow the enemies' forces. A levy of every tenth serf throughout all Muscovy is being made, and the *Knes*, Boyars, and merchants are obliged also to furnish provisions for every serf that they send from their respective estates.

ARTILLERY.

They mount their artillery on the same description of carriages as those which other European States use for battering the walls, demolishing the curtains, and breaching the defences of fortifications; and as the Muscovites themselves are not skilled in the proper management of artillery, scientifically used, they entertain foreigners at great cost for the purpose, who are sent to them as a proof of amity from various countries.

MILITARY MUSIC.

The sound of Russian music in general is so displeasing to the ear that it is more calculated to sadden than to rouse valour to martial daring. It is more like the moan of a funeral wail; and they possess not the art of inflaming martial ardour with nobler stimulants. Their chief instruments are fifes (*jatumeæ*) and kettle drums.

THE CZAR'S REVENUE.

Besides the tribute and annual tax which all the provinces are bound to pay strictly in due proportion, there are many perquisites that flow in addition into the sovereign's public treasury. The first of these sources of emolument is the toll of the ports of Astracan and Archangel, from which the Czar is said to derive ten millions of imperials per annum.

The second in importance are the *kakaba* or public inns; for the Czar has complete monopoly of the sale of beer, brandy, and hydromel;

a source from which above two hundred thousand imperials find their way into the treasury. Any private individual, were he even a magnate, that should without special license from the Czar expose for sale hydromel, beer, or brandy, would be deprived of the merchandise in question, and moreover punished with an arbitrary fine ; nor are instances wanting of sentences of sharper penalties being inflicted upon persons found defrauding the sovereign of his royalties. They have been flogged with the *knout* and transported to Siberia, where they are compelled continually to hunt the fable.

The Germans, however, enjoyed the privilege of brewing and selling beer among themselves, being in other respects obnoxious to the same penalties should they sell it to Muscovites. Now, however, they have been deprived of that privilege. Tichon Nikitowicz Strefnow, whose office nearly corresponds to that of lord high steward, was of opinion that it would be more judicious not to deprive the Germans of the right of brewing ; inasmuch as an easier method might be employed to obtain the profit which was expected from that measure,—to wit, the imposi-

tion of a heavier tax upon the licenses to brew which they had to take out from the chancery : and beyond doubt they would prefer paying this to buying beer brewed by the Muscovites.

3°. They collect great wealth from fables, of which the best are trapped in Siberia.

4°. Sturgeon in incredible multitudes frequent the waters of the Volga, and are taken in great quantity in spring and summer : their eggs form the staple of an opulent commerce with foreign countries ; they are salted and packed in large vessels and called caviar,—a famous delicacy with the Italians. One Dutch merchant pays eighty thousand imperials per annum to the Czar, for the right of exporting caviar.

5°. A German merchant has in the same way the monopoly, which he purchased from the Czar, of rhubarb, which the Muscovites prize exceedingly.

The English paid the Czar, when he was in England, twelve thousand pounds sterling, and eight thousand more in Holland, for the monopoly of the sale of tobacco in Muscovy. Notwithstanding the Muscovite clergy have always

hitherto superstitiously held the smoking and chewing of that weed to be an impious and diabolical custom ; nay, even in our time a Russian merchant, to whom the Czar previous to his departure had granted the right of felling tobacco on payment of the sum of fifteen thousand roubles *per annum*, was excommunicated by the Muscovite patriarch—himself, his wife, his children, and grandchildren, and cursed all to infinity.

RUSSIAN MONEY.

The Czar has no mines of gold or silver : they believe, however, that they have discovered rich veins at a place called Kameni in Siberia. General de Carlowitz has just brought skilful miners into Muscovy, so that in a short time it may be known for certain whether the earth affords hope of the discovery of gold or silver in quantity. Still the Russian money was always coined out of pure and good silver, though now-a-days it is somewhat adulterated and falls much short of the old weight. They give fifty or fifty-five *kopeks* in exchange for the imperial florin (*solidum*), and coin a hundred and some-

times as much as a hundred and twenty kopeks out of one imperial, as we experienced there in our own time by weighing kopeks with an imperial. Now the kopek or Muscovite coin is not round, but of an oblong and oval form, bearing on one side the effigy of Saint George with his lance, and on the other the name of the Czar and the date. The Muscovites have also another coin called a *denga*, two of which are equal to a kopek. They have no larger coin: but they use different words to express certain numbers of kopeks; for instance, two kopeks make a penny (*denarium*), three an altin (*altinum*), ten a grifna (*grifnam*), fifty a poltin (*poltinum*), and a hundred a rouble. In our time there was a report about copper money, on account of the want of silver, to pay the soldiers and support the cost of the war; but when news of the conclusion of peace arrived, whatever may have been struck was carried to the exchequer to be laid by for future wants. No person is allowed to carry minted money with him out of Muscovy; any person detected doing so loses all his goods; but any person may use letters of exchange or employ them to purchase

merchandise. Marcellus, a Dutch merchant, was the first to discover an iron mine; his descendants possessed it for some time by tenure of villenage, until the family becoming extinct it fell to the Czar, who gave it as a fief to Narefskin. In the year 1700, money was struck after our fashion by order of the Czar, and the first payment of the soldiers was made in it.

THE CZAR'S PHARMACY.

There are two pharmacies: one in the Kremlin fortrefs itself, the other in the city. They were established by the Czar at the advice of the Germans, and kept up at great expence. Formerly the people used to live to a great and reverend age, using nothing except certain well-known inexpensive simples: they now die in more costly fashion, and, as some complain, much earlier, nature being debilitated by the use of medicines. This, however, they ought rather to impute to their inordinate debauchery, and the pernicious abuse of medicines, rather than to the herbs and juices prepared with real healing art. Boxes, glass vessels, and instruments catch the eye with

a certain exterior flash ; but frequently there is little in them for healing, since for the most part these vessels are empty, nor are fresh drugs bought as they should be by those whom the Czar has appointed inspectors or directors. If we may trust their pharmacopeia, the Czar's pharmacies were never better furnished than at the time when Mr. Vinnius was over them. Like a man of German race as he was, he was ever full of forethought and activity ; and when the physicians and apothecaries gave him notice, his only thought was to maintain the necessary supply. But now the people who have succeeded him in this function are so proudly ignorant and slothful, that they will neither listen to the physicians nor buy fresh medicines with due fidelity. Through their mistakes and carelessness things are fallen into such a state that as often as there is a pressing case for cure the doctor can hardly prescribe the remedy which he thinks best suited to expel the malady, but is obliged to give something like an equivalent which he knows may be had in the pharmacy.

But Prince Feodor Alexiowicz Golowin, when director, gave an example of greater industry :

for he sent a certain Russian—who, to the great mortification of numbers, received the doctor's degree after two years' study—into Holland to buy up carefully whatever medicines were wanting. With the exception of this man, almost all the physicians are foreigners and Germans. Mr. Carbonari de Bifenegg and Doctor Zoppot are the best skilled in the healing art, and have the largest practice. But they revere Surgeon Dermond like another Esculapius, and some call him by the invidious name of Doctor Empiric. Doctor Blumentrost and Doctor Kellerman also enjoy good repute. There are a great many apothecaries, all Germans: but they have Muscovite apprentices a great deal older than the masters. They enjoy a salary of two hundred roubles per annum; nor are they wearied with much labour. They take turn about: they are not in the habit of going to the pharmacy before eight or nine, and at two in the afternoon they go home to the German suburb. These are the business hours; during the rest of the day no medicine is sold; nor is it easy to call these apothecaries, for Slowoda, the German suburb, is an hour's distance from the city.

TREASURES.

These consist of the regalia, the crown enriched with costly gems and stones. Secondly, in a huge quantity of coined specie, which most people believed was exhausted at this time by the great cost of arming such an extremely numerous fleet, the very name of which is terrible. But the Czar will never want as long as he knows of his subjects having any gold and silver remaining. For their riches and private valuables are his only mines of gold and silver. This absolute master uses his subjects at his will, and their wealth in what share he pleases. He arrogates to himself what part he likes of the spoils of the hunter ; he sells their furs or makes presents of them at will. Air-dried fish are his munitions. At market nobody can sell unless the Sovereign's merchandise has been first sold. He rather dictates than bargains the prices of what belongs to him ; and measures out for himself and takes whatever there is either good or precious in his dominions. Grand Duke Ivan despoiled almost all Livonia of chalices, reliquaries, crosses, and silver ; and it is never allowed to take gold or

silver of any description out of Muscovy, unless for the redemption of captives lost in war, or of such as are carried off in the daily raids of the Tartars. But the Muscovites are in the habit of displaying their wealth in plate whenever the ambassadors of foreign princes are, according to the national custom, sumptuously received at a princely and regal banquet. It is needless to speak of the large proportion which a variety of furs of almost inestimable price bear among the general wealth of the Czars.

THE CZAR'S COURT.

The former Grand Dukes made use of inestimable parade in their apparel and adornment, the majesty of the Pontiff being superadded to that of the King. On the head they wore a mitre, glittering with pearls and priceless gems ; in the right hand they bore an exceedingly rich pastoral staff ; their fingers were covered with rings of gold ; and above the throne upon which they sat there was fixed, to the right, an image of Christ, and to the left one of the most Holy Virgin Mother. The presence and ante-chambers were

thronged with men clad in golden vesture and other precious insignia to the very feet.

But the present Czar, a great contemner of all pomp and ostentation about his own person, rarely makes use of that superfluous multitude of attendants. Nor do the Boyars or nobles about the court use the proud old garb, having learnt by the example of the Grand Duke that luxury in dress is an empty thing, and that living in fine houses does not constitute wisdom. The Czar himself, when going through his capital, is often accompanied by two, and at most three or four, of his more intimate attendants; feeling, even in the perilous time of the military revolt, a confidence in the simple respect of his subjects for majesty. For in former times the Muscovites obeyed their sovereign less like subjects than bought slaves, looking upon him more in the light of a god than a sovereign; so that one often used to hear among the Muscovites (what the vulgar still continually say,) “*God only and the Grand Duke know that: everything that we have of health and comfort proceeds from the Grand Duke.*” This reverence of his people recalled Ivan Basilowicz to the throne of his

forefathers, when, after unheard-of atrocities, he had, out of fear of just vengeance, betaken himself to the retirement of a monastery ; whether it be that respect for the royal name which those who live under monarchy revere as something sacred, or innate veneration for their sovereign, or their trust in one who had held the reins of government already, drove these men, born for subjection, into loyal obedience.

Sedition was almost utterly unknown in Muscovy of old ; now you would think the rebellions must be chained one to another. Hydra's head did not sprout faster than fresh rebellions spring out of the very graves of traitors. Hercules thoroughly subdued Hydra by fire ; but the restless audacity of the Muscovites feeds upon flames like a Salamander. Is it the iron age that has banished olden fidelity and affection, and reverence for their sovereign, even from among the dregs of the populace ? Yet the custom still exists of prostrating themselves on the ground in worship of the Czar, as if his place were nearly as exalted in power as God's. As for the rest, a throng of nobles—Sin-Boya-ren, as they call them (that is, sons of Boyars),

—perform the daily ministrations. But there is nothing seemly in the service, no cleanliness among the servers ; so that the mere rudeness of their unpolished manners and their filthy service would suffice to distinguish this from every other court in Europe.

When the table is being laid for the Czar, no flourish of trumpets summons the courtiers to their functions ; but one of them cries out in a stentorian voice, “ *Gofudar Cuschinum, Gofudar Cuschinum* ” (that is, “ *The Grand Duke wants to eat* ”). The cups in which drink is presented to the Czar are made of gold and silver, in sooth, but so coated with filth that it is hard to discover which precious metal lies hidden beneath the dirt. There is no order in the arrangements of the viands ; they are thrown higgledy-piggledy ; and they are generally torn afunder, not carved. There was a reverential old custom which forbade the admission of any person to the table of former Czars. They used to dine alone ; but they were accustomed to send some dishes from their table to any of the Boyars that they wished to honour with an especial mark of favour. The present Czar, on

the other hand, considers it a decided affront to kings that they should be repelled from the pleasures of private society, arguing why should a barbarous and inhuman law be enacted against kings alone, to prevent them enjoying the society of anybody? So that, neglecting the proud solitude of his own table, he is fond of conversing and dining with his advisers, with the German officers, with merchants, and even with the ambassadors of foreign princes. Though this be sovereignly displeasing to the Muscovites, yet, as they must needs obey, they had to adopt the same fashions, and often exhibit a smiling countenance upon compulsion.

THE CZAR'S RESIDENCE.

It is called the Kremlin—is surrounded with a stone wall two miles and nine hundred paces in circumference, and comprises several very handsome structures belonging to the noblesse within the ambit of its enclosure, several bazaars, several churches—as, for example, the Church of the Archangel Michaël, which contains the royal tombs. Blagavestine, or the Church of the

Annunciation, is remarkable for its nine towers, the roofs of which, as well as the whole church, are covered with gilt copper, and the highest tower thereof is surmounted with a cross of pure gold, of immense value. Ivan Veliskoy, or the Church of Saint John, the tower roof of which is gilt, has a number of bells, one of which, the largest in the world, weighs two thousand two hundred poods, or sixty-six thousand pounds of our* weight. Within the same regal precinct, pre-eminent among the other chanceries, stands that called the *Posolski Pricas*, or Ambassadorial Chancery, wherein all affairs concerning the condition of the state and negotiations with foreign princes are expedited. All strangers, too, are dependent thereon. The chambers and apartments intended for the monarch's dwelling are ordained with sumptuous pomp of decoration and hangings, and for size and splendour yield in nothing to the chief palaces in Europe.

In another part of the fortrefs there is a stud of various breeds of blood horses, a kind of little Sybarite army, as it were. Horses, to be prized

* 66,000 Vienneſe weight.—TRANSL.

by the Muscovites, must be tall and showy. They like those of Arabia and Altenburgh. Muscovy possesses a native breed of horses exceedingly commendable for their fleetness; they call them *pachmaten*. The Czar's predecessors used to appoint chases of different kinds in the various districts of their dominions, the monarch reserving hawking for his own pleasure. The reigning sovereign, on the contrary, is attracted by other matters—the art of war, fireworks, the roar of artillery, shipbuilding, the dangers of the sea, and sets the arduous pursuit of glory above all pleasures and amusements. He went through the military functions from the very lowest rank, and would not ascend the throne of his ancestors, and mount the pinnacle of sovereign power, before he had passed through all the grades of military rank to the highest, that of General-in-Chief (*Campi ducis*), so glorious does he esteem it to have merited dignity before possessing it.

WHAT THE MUSCOVITES PRINCIPALLY GUARD
AGAINST.

First. Left the religion of their forefathers should be changed, for they believe that three signs have been predicted as prognostics of the ruin of Muscovy by one of their saints, whom the supernal powers permitted to cast a glance far into the dark bosom of futurity.

Second. Change of dress. Third. Of money. They formerly wore the same dress as the Tartars; then they adopted the more elegant costume of Polish fashion; now they imitate the Hungarian garb. For the most part they still observe with tenacious superstition the principal points of the schism by which they separated themselves from the universal body of the Church. The true mode of making the sign of the cross was changed in a council of the Greek patriarchs, called at great cost at Moscow; for in former times there was no distinction in the way in which clergy and laity made the sign of the cross. All Russians were taught to form it with three fingers in honour of the most Holy Trinity; but after the council in question the

ancient mode was allowed to priests only, and all laymen were enjoined by a public law to give up that most ancient custom, and form the cross with only two fingers held up. How much of innocent, noble and illustrious blood was shed on account of that change the numerous wounds still unhealed sadly show.

The old-fashioned money was still in use in our time, except that the public current value was occasionally somewhat diminished by wear and tear ; yet it is certain that copper money, which was coined to meet the excess of war expenditure, is reserved in the Treasury, and the last letters brought hither out of Muscovy acquaint us that the coinage there has been debased. Nor has the authority of the clergy remained intact ; for formerly they occupied without dispute the first places of honour in all public assemblies, but now their dignity has grown so vile that they are seldom, or at least only like laymen, admitted to table. Methinks some old hag belonging to the popes must have dreamt these things instinctively, for they are in dread, and not without reason, of being shaken from the axis of their fortune, and lest they

shall reign no longer than they can succeed in keeping the populace and nation, by means of superstitious doctrine or contempt for science, in ignorance and benighted error; whilst it has ever been the spirit of shining virtue to struggle gloriously to more arduous and better things.

Another thing of which they studiously take care, is to guard their frontier towns and fortresses with strong garrisons, that they may be prepared for the event of peace or war, and lest some chance of fortune should expose everything to the intrigues of their enemies and the intestine treason of citizens.

Third. Lest any of the magnates should rise to dangerous wealth and power, to the peril of the sovereign. He that boasts of his riches, or makes display of his wealth, runs the risk of his life; for persons of formidable wealth are commonly punished by being dragged to prison upon a trumped-up charge of peculation, their goods are handed over to the Treasury, and they themselves to exile or death.

Fourth. None of the provincial offices are perpetual; governorships last only a few years the duration of power being at the utmost t hre

years. They pretend that the short duration of honours is a great advantage to the country, for that governors who know that they will be stripped of their authority in a year's time do not readily abuse their magistrature, nor do the people grow too much attached to them, or dread a President whose authority will come to a speedy end. The powers of Feodor Madveowicz Apraxin, as Woivode of the port of Archangel, have been prolonged by the Czar for three years more, because at the time when the Czar was staying there, to make a cruise on the White Sea, over and above the fidelity with which it was seen he had exercised his functions, he went liberally to great expense to receive his Majesty with becoming honour.

Fifth. Formerly Muscovites were not allowed to cross the limits of their sovereign's dominions, lest by beholding the happiness of a foreign empire they should be excited to daring aspirations of innovation; but under the present Czar's reign it is required of them to visit foreign countries, under the semblance of acquiring knowledge; and they are weakened in purpose and power by this imposed necessity of foreign

travel. Still, without the Czar's special permission and command, nobody dare set foot with impunity out of Muscovy.

Sixth. Those whom the requirements of commerce compel to cross the frontiers for a time, are punished with confiscation of goods, the knout and exile, should they fail to return home within the time prescribed.

Seventh. The Cossacks are a great element of strength for the Czars. The Muscovites conciliate them with annual gifts, and study to keep them faithful with the fattest promises, lest they should take it into their heads to pass over to the Poles, and by their defection draw off the whole strength of the military power of Russia; for this stout race excels the Muscovites, both in the art of war and in bravery of soul.

Eighth. In like manner, with civility, promises, largesses, and multiplied artifice, they retain under their ascendancy their neighbours the Tartars, Circassians, Nogai, Samoiëds, and Tingoës; for they scarcely burden them with any tribute—nay, these people rather expect an annual gift, the delay of which beyond the usual time, in

our day, made Ajuka, the Prince of the Calmuck Tartars, desert with 20,000 to the Turks.

Ninth. It is an old habit of the Czars to sow and foster discords among their very magnates, whom they find it easier to oppress each and all with more security and under a greater mask of equity, when they are divided by mutual hate, and striving in savage plots to get the better of one another ; in accordance with the old saw—*divide et impera*.

Tenth. The Czar when upon his departure from Moscow puts several persons at the head of affairs, taking care to choose those that he knows to be by natural antipathy in discord with one another : lest any one should abuse the power entrusted to him or arm it against his prince.

OF THE ROYAL CITY OF THE CZARS.

Moscow is the metropolis of Muscovy, and it takes its name from the river Moskwa that flows through it. The city is almost circular, and is divided into four parts each surrounded with its

own walls, or a vallum. The innermost part, or as it were marrow of the city, is called Kytaygorod; next this lies the castle or royal residence, separated from the former by walls, and is called *Kremelina gorod*. These two parts are surrounded with a stone wall. The part which encompasses these on the east, north, and west, is called Czargorod, which means the royal city, and this is encompassed with a wall built of white stone and a rampart of earth. The part round this outside is named Skoroda, and is only encompassed with hedges. The southern part bears the alias name of Strelitza Slowoda, because it was inhabited by the soldiers or prætorians of the Grand Duke. But as all the houses of the Strelitz have been torn down and razed to the earth since the late rebellion, and the Czar wishes the very name of Strelitz to be buried in oblivion, I believe that quarter will soon have a new name and destination allotted to it. As for the rest, most of the private houses are built of wood, a very few of brick, and none but people of rank and opulent merchants live in houses of stone. Hence those frequent fires that often destroy houses by thousands.

This city is three German miles in circumference, is grandly adorned and fair to behold, with its more than two hundred goodly churches, and a multitudinous variety of towers, for every church has its five towers. The high church is that of the most Holy Trinity, into which in days of yore, on Palm Sunday, the patriarch seated upon an ass used to be led by the Czar : but ceremonies of this kind in the present Czar's time are either abandoned or are neglected and going out of use. The merchants, according to the nature of their wares, have different and separate marts, and places, and spaces, in which alone they may expose their wares for sale.

First, in front of the Kremlin Castle there is a series of ambulatories round about, with stalls behind ; for there is neither room nor allowance here to put up regular shops.

The second mart is that in which silk and everything made of silk is sold.

In the third, all kinds of cloth are exposed for sale. The fourth is for the goldsmiths ; the fifth, for the furriers ; the sixth, for the shoemakers ; the seventh, for linen tissues ; the eighth, for

pictures; the ninth they call the louse market, from the number of barbers' stalls there, where the Muscovites go to have their locks clipped, and where the hair is thrown out into the street; in the tenth, garments of all descriptions are on sale; the eleventh is the fruit market; the twelfth, the fish market; the thirteenth, the bird market. Besides these there is a public building which they call the Gast-Hoff, near the palace of the Ambassadors, in which Persians, Armenians, and other foreigners, for the most part expose their wares. Independent of which there are many other separate marts, according as the classification of merchandise requires; and everything is arranged so distinctly and with so much order as to be easy of access and passage from one to the other. There are cellars too for the sale of wine, which is brought by sea to Archangel and thence to Moscow.

In the part of the city which as has been said they call Czargorod, there are certain open spaces called Pogganabrut: in these are sold wheat, meal, flesh, cattle, beer, hydromel, and brandy. The city is in a most flourishing state in respect of the variety of trades in which its inhabitants are engaged.

It is indeed closed with gates ; but not duly provided against the attacks of an assailing force.

Nearly all that the natives make use of, or that is suitable for trade, is comprised in the following enumeration :—

1°. The skins of various animals, which serve to protect the natives from the extreme rigour of the climate, and which are sold in great quantities to foreign merchants. Of these skins the most prized are fables, the finest of which are furnished by the province of Petchora, upon which the female fashion of our day has set such an extravagant value in Europe. The others are black and red fox, in which Siberia abounds, and also white marten, beaver, the charming little ermine skins, wolf, lynx, and so forth. 2°. Such a quantity of wax, that in some years as much as two myriad pounds are said to have been exported. The greatest amount usually comes from Plescow, though other provinces also abound in wax. 3°. Such a profusion of honey, that though a great quantity be consumed by the natives in drink, a considerable amount is exported every year into the neighbouring

countries. 4°. Jaroslaw and Wologda furnish tallow. 5°. The whole country produces hides of oxen and deer. 6°. Oil produced by boiling down the carcases of seals. 7°. Caviar, of which a vast quantity is prepared on the banks of the Volga, the roe of the sturgeon and other* descriptions of fish, and in which a lucrative export trade is carried on with foreign countries, especially Italy. 8°. Flax and hemp are produced in great abundance and of excellent quality; the former in the province of Volsko, and the neighbouring regions; the latter in Smolensko, Dorogobusa, and Viasma. 9°. Comes salt, the greater part of which is gathered from salt springs in Stara-Russa, and elsewhere; but near Astracan it is cast on shore in high floods. 10°. Tar, a vast quantity of which from the province of Carelia, and on the banks of the Dwina, towards the North Sea, exudes from the rock. They call what they use, instead of glass, *stude*; it is what is commonly used for lanterns under the name of Russian glass, and also *Marien glass*. 11°. Iron, for of other metals Russia is almost barren.

* “*Bello-uginae, sturionis, severigæ*,” for the first and third of which I have not found the English name.—TRANSL.

They think, however, that they will find a vein of a different metal in Siberia.

OF THE RUSSIAN RELIGION.

Touching the alteration in the manner of making the sign of the cross I have already spoken. Who could imagine it to be of so great moment for the worship of the true faith whether one should make the sign of the cross with two or three fingers, or with the whole hand raised. Nevertheless, the Russian patriarch's doubt about the manner of making the sign of the cross seemed a matter of such weight to the Muscovites, that at great cost they invited the Patriarch of Constantinople, and two others from Alexandria to Moscow, to decide the question. True, indeed, the Muscovites make the main part of their religion, and their only means of saving their souls, consist in the mere sign of the cross ; for it is extremely rare to find any among them that know by heart the two ordinary little prayers, the *Our Father* and *Hail Mary*. Nor have they schools where those points are taught which it is becoming and necessary for an adult

to know, as essential to salvation. But I cannot imagine, nor will, or can, the Muscovites when questioned upon the subject, say what motive chiefly induced the above-mentioned spiritual-rulers to abrogate, contrary to the express wish of the people, and prohibit under the sanction of such a cruel penalty the ancient mode of forming the sign of the cross, which had been in use and allowed for centuries. The lower orders thought that heaven and eternal glory was torn from them by that prohibition, and that thenceforward none but the popes would enjoy the bliss of heaven, as they also were allowed to make the sign of the cross with three fingers. Many struggled against the patriarch's law, as impious and irreverent towards the Almighty; and numbers preferred to fall beneath the axe of the executioner, rather than abandon the ancient way of forming that sacred sign. It would have been far more useful and far more wholesome labour to organise schools, to appoint masters for the instruction of the youth, to teach the ignorant, to lead back the erring to the right road to salvation. But as they are, to the last degree, unskilled in divinity, and haughtily despise all learning from abroad,

they envy that enlightenment to those that are to come after them, into which they themselves are ashamed to emerge out of their benightedness.

BAPTISM.

The Russians deny that persons are truly baptised who are regenerated, according to the Roman rite by the mere sprinkling with water in the name of the most Holy Trinity ; but contend, with most obstinate superstition, that baptism should be performed by immersion ; that the old man must be drowned (*suffocari*) in the water, which is to be done by immersion, and not by aspersion. Insisting pertinaciously upon this error, they admit reiteration of baptism, and baptise anew, either by immersion or, as the present usage is, by pouring water over the whole body from head to foot, any persons, no matter what religion they may have previously belonged to, who embrace the Russian schism, either of their own free will, or, as is generally the case, upon compulsion. And because there are three persons in the Godhead, so they require a triple immersion.

SACRIFICE.

They celebrate according to the Greek rite ; they use leavened bread and red wine ; they distribute the consecrated bread and wine together out of the chalice with a spoon. Though they commonly make use of red wine for the sacrifice, yet if it is not to be had, they do not deny that white wine may be consecrated.

They hardly or with difficulty permit strangers or those that are not of their religion to enter their churches. For Catholics, however, they are less particular than for Lutherans and Calvinists. Perhaps because they are aware that we venerate the images and relics of saints, and that the others spurn them.

OF IMAGES.

They venerate only painted images, and not such as are sculptured or wrought in any other manner ; for they will have it that it is forbidden by the commandment of God in the Decalogue to adore any graven thing, which precept, however, in the way in which *adoration* ought to be

understood, equally prohibits the painted and the graven.

SERMONS.

The Russians, up to the present, have always condemned the function of preachers, saying that professed preachers affect rather a useless elegance of language than earnestness in proclaiming the word of God. Yet in the present age the practice of expounding the Gospel has met with the approval of the Russians. For there are even some to be found among them who, confident of their own learning, are not content with merely reading the Gospel or holy Scripture aloud in the church (which was the old fashion), but prefer a polished and rhetorically laboured discourse of their own composition.

THEIR VENERATION FOR THE MOTHER OF GOD.

They venerate the Mother of God with the most devout piety, and they hold it to be right

and useful to reverence God's saints. They hold Saint Nicholas in principal veneration and honour, on which account they celebrate that faint's festival twice a year.

PURGATORY.

They believe in a third place, wherein all are detained until the Day of Judgment, holding that nobody is admitted into heaven unless upon sentence passed in that public and final tribunal which has to decide upon those that are worthy of the reward of heaven. They say that suffrages are beneficial to souls in this condition, and for that reason esteem it very profitable and very meritorious to pray or perform good works for the faithful departed.

THE PATRIARCH.

He is the visible head of the Russian church. Under him he has metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and archimandrites. The custom prevails of carrying the pastoral and cross before these dignitaries wherever they go. None of

them can marry, for they are all selected out of the monasteries.

MONASTERIES.

They have monks and nuns who, in austerity of life, in frequency of fasts, in rigour and poverty, exceed the discipline of our religious in severity, but not in piety. For in the season of their fasts they macerate the flesh to such a degree that it is held sinful to give even medicine to the sick ; but when the time of the fast is over, they make use of every license ; and, more like debauchees than monks, they are rampant drunk in the public places ; and, devoid of all shame, they are often found in lasciviousness in the open streets. They wear a long black gown, with a cowl at the neck. They are all meanly dressed, except those that bear the higher offices in the monasteries, who are more expensively clothed. They also make the three vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. They are not imbued with letters. Sometimes Poles, deserting to their schism, are mixed up in these monasteries. Such a one I found in the mona-

stery called Jerusalem, which lies six miles distant from Moscow.

THE POPES OR PRIESTS.

Orders are conferred by the imposition of hands. Round the head of the new ordained they bind a *vitta*, or, as they call it, a *skuffia*, which is blessed by the patriarch, and must be kept with the greatest care ; for whoever should happen to lose it, even by accident, would be deemed unworthy of the sacerdotal office. If a layman should chance to get into a row with a pope, he must beware not to fuly the *vitta*. If he is going to beat the pope, he must remove it from his head with due respect, and in the meantime lay it aside in a decent place, after which he may strike the priest with impunity as much as he pleases. No law, no penalty or excommunication can take hold of him, provided that after the blows and buffets he replace the *vitta* with due veneration on the head from which he removed it. Thus the character of the honoured *vitta* is saved ; nor does he strike at the instigation of the devil, who venerates the priestly dignity in

that manner, and only avenges his quarrel on the person of the man. All popes must have wives; and the priestly function is not allowed to be exercised by one that is not bound in wedlock. But he must marry a maiden or the widow of some pope. Should he marry any other widow he would be rendered irregular and incapable,* *ipso facto*. A pope may not marry again when his wife dies, nor is he capable† of celebrating or enjoying a sacerdotal benefice without a wife: he may sing vespers, indeed, and perform other minor ecclesiastical acts, but may not offer at the altar. So that a wife is a substantial requisite for the exercise of the priesthood at present in the Russian Church: save for monks, whose rule it is to live in solitude and companionless. To the latter may be added the patriarch, metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and others, who are all chosen from among the monks. The popes may, however, marry a second time, provided they renounce the priesthood. So that it often happens that the same

* "*Irregularis et inhabilis*," &c.—ORIG.

† "*Idoneus*," &c.—ORIG.

men whom you revere one year as popes, you see next year as shoemakers, tailors, and butchers.

When the common people meet the popes in the public highways they ask for their crosses and their blessing, which the popes, ambitious of the sanctity of their character, publicly impart to those that solicit it. Yet they are scarcely better behaved than the populace; for they often stagger drunk through the thoroughfares of the city, worse than those whom they are bound, in virtue of their state of life, to excite, by their example, to virtue and piety. They are in the habit of carrying a cross with them everywhere: how often that all-precious badge of our Redeemer, which these most base scoundrels carry about, must be rolled in the gutter when they are helpless and staggering, after drinking brandy to excess at supper. I do believe that there is no people that shines so much in outward signs, that counterfeit real piety, and in such specious masks of uprightness of heart, as this race which, nevertheless, in dissimulation, fraud, falsehood, and in the most unbridled audacity in the commission of every crime, surpasses far and wide

all other nations of the universe. Nor is this assertion made out of hatred, but from true and genuine experience ; as any person shall infallibly come to understand, who may happen to have the opportunity of frequent dealings with them. There are as many as four thousand popes in the metropolis of Muscovy, who can all live decently upon their revenues.

FESTIVAL DAYS.

There are almost as many festivals in Russia as there are days in the year : but the festivals alternate between the different quarters of the city ; so that while one quarter is keeping holiday, the other is working. But the major festivals of the Nativity, the Resurrection, the Ascension, &c., they all keep holy together, which they indicate by a continual and annoying jangling of a bell. If bell-ringing and the outward piety of making the sign of the cross be sufficient to constitute true Christian devotion, Muscovy, at this present day, can present us with multitudes of exceedingly Christian folk. On festival days they only rest from labour in

the forenoon ; at a very early hour in the morning, generally before daybreak, they get through their sacred functions in the dark, and the day itself they consecrate, if not to work, at least to debauchery : so that one must always be in fear of a conflagration as often as the Russians celebrate a festival, or, as they call it, *brasnick*.

BURIAL.

They use a number of ceremonies in the burial of their dead. They bring superstitious and profane women for those occasions, who follow the funeral with mercenary sobbs. In the coffin they hide letters of recommendation to Saint Nicholas, whom they believe to be the doorkeeper of heaven : and in these letters the Patriarch asseverates that the deceased led the life of a Christian, and at length died with praiseworthy constancy in the orthodox Russian faith. When the corpse is laid in the grave, a pope, after a short sermon upon the necessity of dying, throws in the first burial earth. Besides the prayers for the dead after the bodies have been

committed to the ground, they have women at the grave, who set up a loud howling and wail, and ask the deceased, with mighty vociferation, after the manner of the pagans, “*Why did they die?* Why did they so soon desert their dear sweet wives?—their darling offspring? What did they want for? Meat? Drink?” Finally, they place upon the grave various descriptions of food, to be divided among the poor who are in the habit of gathering in crowds there. This they often repeat during the year, out of affection and charity towards the departed.

MASLANIZA.

The Italians call it *Carnevale*; the Latins, *Bacchanalia*; our Germans, in Muscovy, *die Butter-wochen* (butter* week): because during that week it is forbidden to eat flesh, but it is still allowed to eat butter: for during the rest of the lenten fast they use only linseed oil.

* This is also the sense of the Russian word *Maslaniza* from the Slavonic root *maslo*, butter.—TRANSL.

ABSTINENCE AND FASTING.

They abstain from flesh on Wednesdays and Fridays. They have, moreover, four other fasts during the year. The first, from Quadragesima Sunday to Easter; the second, from the Sunday after Pentecost to the feast of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; the third, from the first of August to the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin; the fourth, from the tenth of November until Christmas. The first of all is the strictest, and, from its lasting longer than the others, they call it the long fast. In fasting-time it is not allowed to eat eggs, or butter, or cheese. No exception is made in favour of age or ill-health: they deem it better to die of fasting than preserve life by eating eggs or flesh. Nay, the very physicians, before they are admitted to practice, have to bind themselves, by oath, never to employ any medicines in fasting time for sick Muscovites, for the diluting of which eggs, flesh, milk, or butter might be necessary, even though they may clearly foresee that the sick person must speedily die without

the help and use of such a medicine. From which austerity and indiscreet observance of the precept of fasting, I justly take occasion to pronounce the Russian Church not to be a true and genuine mother, but a stepmother and an adulteress.

PUBLIC GOVERNMENT.

The cities are not under the jurisdiction of mayors or the worthiest of their citizens; but a diak is appointed by the Czar to administer the law. With his staff of scribes he constitutes a *Pricas*, or chancery, and cases of every description are tried by this tribunal. Except a little index upon which are the judicial forms, and some legal axioms that have the force of precedent, they have no written law, the will of the monarch and the *ukase* of the senate being the supreme law. They say, indeed, that one of the diaks has compiled a book of the rights, statutes, decrees, sentences, decisions, and the customs which he found to be observed in Muscovy from a very remote period. But that collection of laws has not, so far, legal force and weight, nor are the

judges called upon to pronounce in accordance with it. In the year 1647, Grand Duke Alexis Michalowicz had the laws collected and reduced to order by his councillors, in a book they call *Soborna Ulasienia*.* But each new monarch makes new laws; for in a country governed despotically, nothing but the sovereign's pleasure has force of law.

They begin their law-suits nearly in this manner: the plaintiff sets forth by petition by whom and to what extent he has been injured; and having obtained leave by *wepis*, which is an indult of the judge, he has an apparitor (*pristafillis*) sent to summon the accused, who is obliged to promise on his fealty to appear on the appointed day, otherwise the apparitor has power to detain him by every means in his power. Now, both plaintiff and accused plead their own case, without the assistance of either attorneys or advocates. If the case cannot be cleared up by evidence, it is terminated by swearing. For when the judge cannot clearly see which party is

* These laws may be found translated into Latin by the Baron de Mayerburg, in his narrative of his Embassy in Russia. They occupy 126 of the folio pages of that work.—TRANSL.

in the right, it is usual for him to ask one of the parties if he be willing to swear upon the cross that he alleges the truth. If he consents to this, he is forthwith conducted to church, and gains his cause by kissing the cross. This cross-kissing they call *Chrestinam Cheloveniam*, and consider it the same as an oath. Hence they call traitors, perjurers, and those that break treaties, transgressors of the cross. Should both be prepared to swear, they decide the case by lot. Should the losing party not satisfy his creditor forthwith, he is led into the public square, where condemned persons of this category are fustigated in a deplorable way, every morning from eight o'clock to eleven. But if after being thus fustigated for the space of a year, they are not paying, they must sell their wives and children until the creditor has been paid back to the last farthing.

The complainant who first gains the ear of the judge is in general triumphant, even though his suit be unjust, for there is no favourable consideration for the accused; in fact, there is no great difference between an accusation and a condemnation. Whatever the accused may set forth in his own defence is seldom believed, or meets with

no attention. Their custom is to prove their statement by witnesses, whom they bribe at a trifling rate; and, moreover, he is considered to have the better case who has a stronger body of witnesses than his adversary. Presents, too, and gifts, and largesses, are a great help to a suit: nothing is expedited in a *Pricas*, unless the diaks and scribes have first been put in good humour with gold or silver. They beat the Harpies hollow in rapaciousness; and by a most corrupt usage, nobody can contrive to extort his annual salary unless he first propitiates all the officials in the *Pricassa*, from the diak down to the vilest of the scribes, by a percentage upon it. He that has not the means of bribing witnesses, or gaining the diaks and scribes with gold, has the worst of ill-luck to be at law: the cause of justice is oppressed, and the iniquity of corrupt judges can easily make white black and black white.

Debt is proved by writing signature and seal, and not by witnesses. If a dilatory debtor should defer payment of the sum lent, the creditor presents himself before the *Pricas* to the jurisdiction of which the debtor is subject, as the com-

petent tribunal, and by petition, addressed to the President of the *Pricas*, prays that his debtor may be cited. If he appear upon citation, he is coerced by the efficacious legal remedy to pay at once the debt which his creditor has legally proved ; but if he do not appear on citation, he is seized wherever he may be found, and hurried by force before the tribunal. He who is the more liberal in his presents has the best case at law ; justice and injustice are up at auction ; as there is no fixed price, they are usually bought by the highest bidder. Wretched is the debtor's lot if the points of his defence be not gilded with plenty of money. Money, not argument, constitutes the proof ; when that falls short, he is condemned to something nearly as bad as death. His knees tingle with the most exquisite pain under the strokes of slender little canes (*tenuibus baculis*), in a tower which is the prison for dilatory debtors. The beating is often repeated every day until he pays or gives security ; but when he cannot afford to do either, he is often adjudged to his creditor, along with his wife and children, after he has undergone an abundant amount of beating proportionate to

the amount of his debt—for the slavery laws are still unrepealed in Russia.

Pecuniary mulcts, *battoks*, and knouting, are the punishments and penalties in civil cases. The money fines, unless when defined by custom or *ukase*, vary according to the judge's choice, and are often greater or less. Battoks are two slender sticks, wherewith the condemned person is often flogged to death; for his coat is taken off, he is thrown down on the ground with only his shirt on; one sits upon his head, another on his feet, so that his body may not move; and then, thus stretched out on the ground, they flog him, until the official standing by, by word or sign, puts an end to the blows. The knout is a scourge so savage that at the first stroke on the naked skin the blood starts forth, and it leaves a wound of the breadth of a finger in depth. This punishment, when applied to a person in a civil case, they call the Czar's grace (*Tzaream gratiam vocant*), and he that has been thus castigated is bound to return thanks for his pastime, nor does he lie under any note of ignominy, so that any person that dares at any time to upbraid one with having

been so castigated becomes liable himself to the same penalty. But the punishment is penal and criminal, if the person flogged be transported to Siberia.

Those accused of libel have to pay *Biszestia*—that is, to redeem the injury they have done to the person's reputation by a pecuniary mulct. Every rank has its *recalde*, or fixed sum, established by tariff, which the libeller has to pay. He that uses libellous language to a boyar, a colonel, or a physician, is liable to a fine of 2000 imperials; for the honour of all these three classes is protected with precisely the same *occlade*, though the authority of neither colonels nor physicians is always maintained scatheless. The defamer of the wife of a Boyar is condemned to twice the usual penalty. One using opprobrious language to children expiates his crime with half the fine which the laws have appointed to guard the fair fame of their parents.

OF THE MANNERS OF THE MUSCOVITES.

The whole Russian race is rather in a state of slavery than of freedom. All, no matter what

their rank may be, without any respect of persons, are oppressed with the harshest slavery. Those that are admitted to the dignity of the privy council, assume the lofty name of magnates, and come next in rank after their sovereign, have merely more splendid bonds of slavery; they are chained in golden fetters, being liable to all the more bitterness in that they strike the eye more insolently, and by their very flash upbraid the vileness of the lot in which they are held up before the world.

He that should happen to subscribe his name in the positive degree to petitions or letters to the Czar would be publicly tried for treason. Diminutives must be used. Thus, for example, one whose name may be James, should write himself *little James* (*Jacobulum*). For they deem it greatly derogatory to the supreme rank of majesty not to revere their sovereign with all respect by these humble diminutives of name. This was a crime imputed to the military engineer Laval, by which the Ministers contended that he had deserved the Czar's hatred; for that he ought to write and style himself the Grand Duke's *cholop*, or most abject and vilest slave, and ac-

knowledge that all the goods and chattels he possessed were not his, but the monarch's. And in this opinion they have a capital practical hand in their sovereign, who uses his native country and its inhabitants (*patriâ civibusque*) as if power absolute, unbounded, uncircumscribed by any law, lay openly with him to dispose as freely of the property of private individuals, as if nature had produced everything for his sake alone. Let him trample upon these souls born for slavery, and let the Russians bear the lot that the gods have appointed.

The people are rude of letters, and wanting in that virtuous discipline by which the mind is cultivated. Few study polite manners or imitate them. John Barclay, in his "Mirror of Souls," describes at length how this race, born for slavery, becomes ferocious at the least trace of liberty; placid if oppressed, and not refusing the yoke, they of their own accord confess themselves slaves of their prince. He has a right to their wealth, their bodies, and their lives. Humility more fordidly crouching the very Turks entertain not for their Ottoman sceptre. They esteem other races as well by their own character.

Foreigners whom chance or choice has led into Muscovy they condemn to the same yoke, and will have them be slaves of their monarch. Should they catch and bring back any of them departing furtively, they punish them as runagates (*ut fugitivos*). As for the magnates, though they be slaves themselves, towards their inferiors and the plebeians, whom they usually call, out of scorn, *black men* and *Christians*, their arrogance is intolerable, and the vulgar dread their frown extremely.

Devoid of honest education, they esteem deceit to be the height of wisdom. They have no shame of lying, no blush for a detected fraud : to such a degree are the seeds of true virtue proscribed from that region, that vice itself obtains the reputation of virtue. Yet I would not have you understand that all the inhabitants of that monarchy, without any exception, are alike ignorant and proud in their estimation of virtue. Among such a quantity of tares some wholesome plants do grow ; and the rose that struggles into blossom among this rank crop of fetid leeks, blushes all the more fair, and sheds a perfume all the more grateful. Few indeed are they that just

Jupiter hath loved, or shining virtue raised to the skies: but those few really stand so pre-eminent that these rare torches can remain unremarked only by the inexperienced, or such as are crushed beneath a mountain of vices. The rest are of an incult, slow, and stupid disposition, so absorbed sometimes in staring at strangers, that with their jaws and eyes wide open they quite forget themselves. Among these, however, are not to be reckoned such as are smoothed down by the transaction of affairs, or business, or that have learnt by recent travel that the sun is not shut up within the mere frontiers of Muscovy.

In their schools positively the only labour of the schoolmasters is to teach the children how to write and shape their letters. The height of learning consists in committing to memory some articles of their creed.

They despise liberal arts as useless torments of youth, they prohibit philosophy, and they have often publicly outraged astronomy with the opprobrious name of magic. It is criminal to introduce the calendar of Vogt the astronomer into Muscovy, because in this general propo-

sition, *Moscau wird seinem Ungluck auch nicht entgehen* (neither will *Moscow escape her ill-fortune*), he presaged rebellion to the Muscovites. They say that evil spirits, at whose suggestion and showing astronomers may sometimes guess about the future what is beyond mortal ken, must have helped him in this black art. The Czar is endeavouring, by means of various arts and sciences, to frame a better state of things in his kingdom. If success should crown the prudent efforts of good counsel, people shall shortly be astonished at the fair edifice that will stand where there was nothing but huts before; unless some misfortune should happen or a defection of the people, or perhaps even simply the very barbarity of their inclinations should render them incapable of bearing their own good fortune, or should make them grudge to their posterity a lot so happy, and envy the labours of the present for the profit of future generations. It is but a short time ago that an enterprising Pole set up the first printing press among them, but they only print in the Russian language. The Russian characters are not very dissimilar from those of the Greeks, by whom they were taught to

read and write. Their grammar and idiomatical construction too are not unlike the Greek. In the same house with the printing press, some Greek priests are maintained at the Czar's expense, who teach Italian to any that wish to learn it.

They add and subtract numbers differently from other people: they have a board, with several different descriptions of beads, by means of which they calculate accurately, with surprising quickness—just like the markers that other nations make use of: they indicate various numbers by the mode of collocation.

Though they are themselves unskilled in music, they are fond of its harmonies. They have foreign musicians, whom they pet while they are singing, but as soon as they are sated with their strains, their stinginess returns, and they are discontent to be at a yearly charge for a few hours' gratification. Nor are the exercises to which the nobility of European Courts addict themselves in use in Moscow: they take no delight in the manly exercises of horsemanship or boxing; they take no pride in dancing, nor in any other art that prevails in this age among

nations that are capable of a generous ardour for praise.

They tolerate no Jews in Muscovy, unless they be baptised :* for it seems absurd to Muscovites that men should differ from them in religion, whose ideas, whose craft, and whose exceedingly subtle arts of deceit, they put in practice with equal success.

Plurimùm utuntur thermis et caldariis ; cum Turcis enim contractam ex concubitu maculam balneo abstergere consueverunt. Hæc hyemi inserviunt ; æstivis mensibus fœminis immixti mares fluminibus innatant toto corpore nudi, nullâ sexûs verecundiâ, nullâ fœnii, aut innocentis ætatis distinctione habitâ.† Eâdem impudentiâ, nullâ subuculâ tecti, ex aquis in gramina profiliunt, neminis aspectum veriti : quin ipsæ

* In those parts of the East of Europe where there is a large Jewish populace, you rarely hear a converted Jew called a Christian. A belief that, even after baptism, they continue secret practices of Judaism, and dislike for their sordid nature, stamps them with the name of *baptised Jews*, or *Neophytes*; and these names remain as a stigma for generations attached to a family.—TRANSL.

† Not merely in Russia, but in Russian Poland in the heat of summer, such shameless promiscuous bathing still occurs in the streams and ponds along the very highways ; as the passing traveller may have had to remark.

etiam puellæ nudi corporis speciem sine fronte prætereuntibus objectant, non mediocre libidinis incitamentum. Meritò porro ambigitur, utrum major sit eorum sævitia, an luxuria et improbitas: nam scortationes, adulteria et ejusmodi facinora omnem superant modum; cùm vix pœna ulla legibus constituta sit in ejusmodi delinquentes. Indè Capitaneum quendam ob nefarium cum filiâ suâ octenni commercium ad capitis pœnam damnatum, hisce Campi Dux objurgavit: “Cur libidinem tuam non in alias exercuisti? Cùm tot scorta et meretrices habere potuisses, quot kopicas aut altinos exsolvisses.”

The slavery laws are in vigour among the Muscovites. Some become slaves by captivity, others are so by birth, many from being sold by their fathers, or by themselves: for if they be manumitted by their dying masters, so accustomed are they to slavery, that they make themselves over as slaves to other masters, or bind themselves slaves for a sum of money. Even freemen that serve masters for regular wages cannot leave their master's service at will; for should such a one quit without his master's con-

sent, no other will take him into his service, unless his former master or one of his friends recommend him, and answer for his being trustworthy.

Paternal authority is ample enough also, and presses very severely upon the son, for the father has the right of selling him four times over. Thus, if after being once sold, he should recover his liberty in any way, or be manumitted by his master, the paternal rights entitle his father to sell him over and over again; but after the fourth sale his father is allowed no further power over him. However, in the actual position of affairs, now that Muscovy possesses a monarch whose intellect is so highly gifted by nature, and who is urged on by the wonderful stimulus of glory, people opine that a milder statute will be substituted for this very crude authority of parents over their sons. Though, in truth, the nation itself has such a dislike of liberty, that it seems to exclaim against a happiness for which it was not created, and is so inured to its slavish condition that it will scarcely endure the prudent and kindly solicitude of the Prince for his

dominions and his subjects to be carried out to the full extent.

What they tell of the unconquerable stubbornness of this race under the most exquisite tortures is scarcely within the bounds of credibility. Before the Czar's travels abroad, one of the accomplices of the revolt of 1696 had already four times borne tortures of the most exquisite agony without the least confession of guilt; and the Czar, perceiving that tortures were of no avail, turned to enticements, and having kissed the person under the question (*osculo inquisito dato*) thus spoke to him—"It is no secret to me that thou hast knowledge of the treason attempted against me. Thou hast been punished enough; now confess of thy own accord out of the love that thou owest to thy Prince; and by that God, by whose singular grace I am thy Czar and Prince, I swear, not alone wholly to pardon thy guilt, but moreover, as a special testimony of my clemency, to make thee a colonel." This strange friendliness of such a mighty Prince bent the fierce nature of that iron man; and taking the freedom of returning the Czar's embrace, he thus began—"For me this is the greatest of all

tortures; by no other shouldst thou have ever vanquished my determination," and thereupon he proceeded to unfold at great length the whole series of the treason.

The Czar, carried away with wonder, that a man who had remained silent under such awfully cruel tortures, should be so softened with one little kindness, having asked him how he could have borne so many strokes of the knout and the dreadful torture of fire applied to his back, he began another and more stupendous tale. He stated that he and his accomplices had founded a kind of association; that nobody was admitted into it without being previously tortured; that he that was found capable of bearing the most pain was afterwards decreed higher honours by the others; that a person who was only once tortured was a simple associate and participator in the common advantages; that anybody who aspired to the higher grades of distinction was not to receive them until he had undergone fresh tortures, and had proved that he could bear more in proportion to the eminence of the dignity; that he had been tortured himself six times, and was the president of the whole society;

that the knout was a mere nothing ; that the roasting of the flesh after knouting was nothing ; that he had had to go through far more cruel pains among his associates : “for,” continued he, “the sharpest pain of all is when a burning coal is placed in the ear ; nor is it less painful when the head is shaved, and extremely cold water is let to fall slowly drop by drop upon it from a height of two ells.” He said that in all these things he had surpassed himself and his associates ; and that those who, after being aspirants for membership, were found unable to go through the first tortures, were made away with by poison, or in some other way, for fear they should betray. That as far as he could remember, at least four hundred such inapt candidates had been killed by himself and his comrades. Thus this fellow bore ten times the most unheard of tortures ; six times from his associates, and four times in the inquiry before the Czar. He is still living, and, as I have set down above, is now by the Czar’s clemency a colonel and away in Siberia.

A case of similar stubbornness occurred when the Czar was returning to Moscow from Vienna.

He had already passed Smolensko and was approaching his capital, when one of his suite, terrified at having committed some flagrant act, sought safety in flight. The inquirers could find no indication of the direction or road he had taken : when at length a peasant from the next hamlet came and said that indeed he knew no particulars about the fugitive, but that he had seen a horse in a neighbour's house. The Czar detained the informer, and sent off Mr. Adam Weyd to the house designated, to obtain more positive information. He saw the horse, and on his return confirmed the peasant's story to the Czar. So the owner of the cottage was brought up, and the Czar inquired civilly of him about the man and the horse. But the hind denied any knowledge of a horse being at his house. The Czar repeated the question in a grave tone : but the fellow persisted in his denial. The Czar urged him to remember that he was speaking to his sovereign, the lord of his limbs, in whose power were life and death. But the thick-skulled clown was not in the least moved by the threat. The Czar in consequence commanded him to be thrown down on the ground and

dreadfully beaten from head to foot with a great knotty stick. When on further interrogation he still would confess nothing, he was again most violently thrashed from top to toe. Still the fellow remained contumaciously silent. They rolled him over again and almost beat him to a mummy. But still at every invitation of the knotty club, the mangled rustic lay like a block and stubbornly denied. To such obstinate stubbornness are the souls of these Muscovites hardened, that no torments—nay, not the very presence of their sovereign—can bend them to confess the most manifest truth. For it was found out shortly after by true and indubitable proof, that this very rustic had kept the horse, and had sent off the fugitive, with his brother as guide, by secret paths beyond Smolensko.

OF FEMALE LUXURY.

The women of Muscovy are graceful in figure, and fair and comely of feature: but spoil their beauty with needless shams. Their shapes, unimprisoned by stays, are free to grow as nature bids, and are not of so neat and trim figure as those of

other Europeans. They wear chemises interwoven with gold all through, the sleeves of which are plaited up in a marvellous way, being eight and sometimes ten ells in length, and their pretty concatenation of little plaits extends down to the hands, and is confined with handsome and costly bracelets. Their outer garments resemble those of Eastern women: they wear a cloak over their tunic. They often dress in handsome silks and furs, and earrings and rings are in general fashion among them. Matrons and widows cover the head with furs of price: maidens only wear a rich band round their forehead and go bare-headed, with their locks floating upon their shoulders, and arranged with great elegance in artificial knots.

Those of any dignity or honourable condition are not urged to be present at banquets, nor do they even sit at the ordinary table of their husbands. They may be seen, nevertheless, at present when they go to church or drive out to visit their friends; for there has been a great relaxation of the jealous old rule which required women only to go out in carriages so closed up, that the very use of eyesight was denied to these

creatures made bond-slaves to a master. Moreover, they hold it among the greatest honours that can be paid if a husband admits his guest to see his wife or daughters, who present a glass of brandy, and expect a kiss from the favoured guest; and, according to the manner of this people, duly propitiated with this, they withdraw in silence, as they came. They exercise no authority in their households. When the master is absent from home, the servants have full charge of the management of the affairs of the house, according to their honesty or caprice, without asking or acquainting the wife about anything. But the more wealthy maintain great crowds of hand-maidens, who do scarcely any work, except what trifling things the wife may require of them; meantime, they are kept shut up in the house, and spin and weave linen. With such a lazy life one cannot blame the custom which condemned the poor creatures to such frequent use of the bath, so that their idleness may be at least varied from time to time with another description of sloth.

Whenever the wife of a man of the higher classes is delivered of a child, they signify it

without delay to the *employés* and tradesmen, with rather a beggarly kind of civility. Those who dread the husband's power, or are ambitious of his patronage, on receiving notice of the new birth, come to offer their congratulations in return; and giving a kiss to the mother, they present some offering as a token for the newborn babe. They had better beware not to give less than a gold piece, for that would be a kind of vilipending; but everybody is free to be more generous in his gift. He that is found to be the most liberal will be deemed the best friend. What the poet sang of the populace, I apply with greater justice to the Muscovites—the Muscovite tests friendship by its utility. It is a fable that they value the affection of their husbands for them by the amount of blows they receive from them; for they know how to distinguish between ferocious and gentle characters better than words can tell. If any person of weight were to make a beginning of abandoning the old usage, they would certainly struggle from beneath that most vile bondage in which they are held towards their husbands.

The Muscovites hold it sinful to marry a

fourth wife; in consequence of which the third is in general treated famously, although her two predecessors are treated like bond-slaves; for the thoughts of a new wife, and their inordinate desires, induce them to wish for their speedy death, and render the charms of the first loathsome, perhaps even within the brief space of a year. It is quite a proverb, that a pope may have one and a layman a third wife. Because when these die it is unlawful for them to marry again, and the Muscovites treat these with true marital affection, as they never can expect to marry again when these die. Nevertheless, some of the more powerful extort a dispensation from the Patriarch to marry a fourth time; and the Patriarch, even though he does not refuse it, still blames them as sacrilegious nuptials, that are null in virtue of the immutable authority of the prohibitive law. The Don Cossacks have another custom. They may repudiate women *ad libitum*, provided it be in the circle of the whole community, which assembly they call a Krug. In presence of the *Atamann** and the entire community the man

* "*Coram Ottomanno*," i. e., the Hetmann.—TRANSL.

leads his wife into the middle of the circle, and proclaims that she pleases him no longer; this said, he twirls his wife round about, and letting her go, pronounces her free from his marital authority. The bystander who takes hold of the discarded woman is compelled to keep her as a wife, and protect and maintain her until the next assembly day. Still the laws of these barbarians have established rules for repudiations; so that they are not valid, except in circle and with the whole community as witnesses.

These customs differ but slightly from that whereby men of free condition, in Turkey, join in wedlock with their female slaves before the Woivode: an association of man and woman which is the next thing to concubinage: for the bond may be dissolved at the man's caprice. One intending to take a wife in this way goes before the Woivode and acquaints him with his intention. The latter, when about to join these persons, asks them for a belt (*cingulum*) and a little chaplet of flowers (*strophium*) from the woman, and the proposal being made to the woman, and a certain dowry promised,—for example, fifty imperials,—he gives the belt to

the woman and the chaplet to the man, then takes note of the date and what takes place, and writes down some particular marks of the parties. When the man becomes tired of the woman, he has to call again on the Woivode, before whom the affair must be laid again; and he, for a fee of two or three imperials—having first exacted the promised dowry for the woman—demands back from the man the chaplet he formerly received, and the belt from the woman, and, returning the belt to the man and the chaplet to the woman, he dissolves the marriage, and pronounces both free.

OF MARRIAGES.

The fashion of their marriage differs in no slight degree from the mode which a long series of ages has sanctioned in other countries. For among them the men are not accustomed to see or speak to the girl they want to marry; the question is popped through the mother, or some other old woman, when the parents, without whose consent they consider marriage to be illicit, have agreed about the dowry, which is sometimes

proportioned to the wealth of the old people. For it is not usual among them for the husband to promise anything, nor have they any word to express a donation on account of marriage. But if the husband die without issue of the marriage, the widow receives as much as she brought, provided the husband has left property to that amount. If, however, she has had children by him, she takes the third part of the goods, or more, according to her husband's will. Finally, they draw up the marriage articles, in which the girl's parents warrant her undefiled; whence many lawsuits arise, if the husband should have the least suspicion that she was previously seduced. When these are completed, the betrothed girl sends the first gift to her intended, which he reciprocates. Still, they are neither allowed to see nor speak to one another. When the promise of marriage has been given, the father summons his daughter, who comes covered with a linen veil into his presence; and asking her whether she be still minded to marry, he takes up a new rod, which has been kept ready for the purpose, and strikes his daughter lightly once or twice, saying, "Lo! my darling daughter, this is the last that

shall admonish thee of thy father's authority, beneath whose rule thou hast lived until now. Now thou art free from me. Remember that thou hast not so much escaped from fway, as rather passed beneath that of another. Shouldst thou behave not as thou oughtest towards thy husband, he in my stead shall admonish thee with this rod." With this the father, concluding his speech, stretches at the same time the whip to the bridegroom, who, excusing himself briefly, according to custom, says that he "believes he shall have no need of this whip;" but he is bound to accept it, and put it up under his belt, like a valuable present.

Now, towards the evening which precedes the solemn nuptials, the bride is conducted by her mother and other matrons in a carriage, or, if it be winter, in a sledge, with her marriage *trousseau* and a nuptial bed, elegantly appareled, to the bridegroom's house, and there she is guarded over-night, so that she may not be seen by her husband. Early in the morning of the day appointed for the marriage ceremony the bride, with a linen veil which covers her from the head to below the middle, is conducted to church by

her parents and friends; the bridegroom, on his part, being accompanied by his friends; even poor men using horses, though the church may be close to their door. The ceremonies and words which the priest makes use of hardly differ from those used among other Christians. It is with a ring that the pledge of fidelity is ratified, and the hand of the bride is put into the hand of the bridegroom, which done, the bride falls to the bridegroom's feet and touches his shoes with her forehead, in token of subjection; and the bridegroom, in his turn, puts his tunic over her, in testimony that he undertakes to protect her. Then the kinsfolk and friends bow to both bridegroom and bride, as a pledge of mutual willingness to oblige and of friendship to be cherished. Finally, the bridegroom's father presents a loaf to the priest, who forthwith hands it to the bride's father, begging him to pay the dowry he has promised to the bridegroom on the day appointed, and henceforward to maintain inviolate friendship with him and his friends. In like manner, too, he breaks the bride's loaf into many pieces, and distributes a bit to each of the relations and connections present, to signify that

they should henceforward be kneaded together like a loaf.

These ceremonies being at an end, the bridegroom leads the bride by the hand to the church porch, and pours out a cup of hydromel for her, which she sips beneath her veil, and thus both return with their friends to the house of the parents—Ubi sub ingressum farre asperguntur in signum fœcunditatis et opulentiaë. Hospitibus convivantibus, neonuptos consummare oportet: postquam duabus, aut tribus circiter horis soli in lecto acquieverint, ex convivarum numero aliqui ad eos delegantur, ut sciscitentur ex sponso, num sponsam adhuc incorruptam invenerit; si sponsus affirmat exuberenti hospitum gaudio, multis que tripudiis neonupti ad caldarium deducuntur, diversis floribus, herbisque odoriferis exornatum. Ex quo ad sufficientem amœnitatem loti reducuntur ad templum continuandæ benedictionis uberiolem cumulum percepturi. Si verò ante vitiatam fuisse sponsus conqueratur, ad parentes sponsa remittitur repudiata. Quo judicio probetur virginitas, addere non patitur temporis nostri castitas.

THE QUALITIES OF THE SOIL AND CLIMATE:
FERTILITY AND RIVERS.

The soil of this region is for the most part light and sandy : the proportion of sand being, however, more or less according to the different provinces. The region to the north, towards Siberia and the Samoiëds, is nearly barren ; the extent of the forests, and the extreme rigour of the cold, condemning the land to sterility. The soil along the banks of the Volga is commendable for its grateful fertility ; but as the country there is obnoxious to the constant inroads of the Crim Tartars, the land lies untilled, and that region is almost quite uninhabited. All the regions southward are pleasant and fertile : rich pastures and corn lands lie there, and are watered by several rivers. The face of the country is the same from Reson to Grate Novogrod ; nor is that which lies between Moscow and Smolensko very different, though frequent and dense forests give it a peculiar character. But the season of the year makes a vast difference in the appearance of all these provinces ; for in the winter

months they are covered with exceedingly deep snow, especially northwards; all the rivers are imprisoned in very thick ice, and that for several months together—generally during five—beginning with the month of November, and lasting until the end of March, and often of April; for then the snows first begin to melt, and the ice to thaw.

The climate during those months is cold beyond imagination, so that drops of water thrown upwards congeal before they fall. They remember a cold so penetrating, that many in the very markets, and all who were out in the fields, either utterly perished, or hardly escaped with the loss of their extremities. We did not experience such extremely severe cold in our time; and, therefore, I only affirm what was stated by others, the length of whose stay in Muscovy should, I think, obtain for them somewhat of authority and credence. Such is the real state of these regions in winter. When spring commences again, a change so rapid takes place, that suddenly the woods are green again, the grass bursts forth, the flowers blossom, the crops germinate, the birds, particularly night-

ingales, sing everywhere so sweetly that it seems as if nothing could be added to such magic enchantment.

The earth of these regions is considered to derive a kind of advantage from the snows, which are exceedingly deep, and cover the earth like a garment that protects it from being parched up with the frost; and again, on the other hand, at the beginning of spring, these snows are dissolved and liquefied in a very brief space, and the soil, which, as we have said, is light and sandy, imbibes the humidity largely and very speedily, and when struck by the sun's rays, sends up every description of vegetation with great rapidity. Moreover, in proportion as the cold of the winter months is intense, so the heat of the summer in June, July, and August, is beyond measure; so that the fruits of the earth are by that means brought to maturity very rapidly. Moreover, the greater part of Russia abounds in springs, and is watered with rivulets, lakes, and streams.

In fine, an advantage of the country resulting from its being permeated by vast and very deep rivers, has been that Russia is rendered apt for

commerce even into the depths of her most remote provinces. The principal of these rivers are — 1st, the Volga, anciently called the Rha, and by the Tartars named the Edel, which rises forty German miles above Jaroslaw out of lake Volgo, and after receiving a great many tributary streams from either side, spreads to a mile in width at Jaroslaw, and after having moreover received the river Occa at Nisnovogorod, rolls itself, by many huge mouths, into the Caspian Sea. 2nd, the Borysthenes, now the Neper, or Dneper, which, rising not far from the metropolis of Muscovy, close to the hamlet of Dneperfko, separates Russia from Lithuania, near Oczakow, a town belonging to the Perecop Tartars, and discharges itself into the Black Sea. 3rd, the Tanais, commonly called the Don, the ancient boundary between Asia and Europe, which, rising in Resan Ofera, takes a straight easterly course at first through the lands of the Perecop Tartars, and falls, not far from the river Volga, into the Palus Meotides, near Azow, after being swollen by some tributary streams. By this river they go by water from the city of Moscow to Constantinople, descending by the river Moskwa

into the Occa, the vessel being dragged across a narrow isthmus, and again set afloat upon the latter stream. 4th, the Dwina, which has its source in the province of Vologda, takes a great bend, descends right towards Aretum (*Aretum versus*), and loses itself by six mouths in the gulf of Saint Nicholas; it is formed by the junction of two streams, the Jug, and the Suchana, whence its name of Dwina, which means double in Russian. 5th, the Duna, which rises in the province of Novogrod, flows through Livonia, and falls by Riga into the Baltic Sea. 6th, the Onega. 7th, the Suchana. 8th, the Ocka. 9th, the Moskwa. 10th, the Wichida, besides several lesser streams, whose beds are of vast extent, divide various provinces of Muscovy.

Out of these rivers they bring to Moscow a vast quantity of the finest fish, and of the kinds that are most rare elsewhere; and there for the merest trifle are sold, the fish of which I have already mentioned the names. Partridge, wild duck, and other wild fowl, which the luxury of numbers of people render exceedingly costly in other countries, are here sold for almost nothing; a partridge can be bought for two or three

kopeks—one kopek being the equivalent of two kreuzers—and other birds are cheap in proportion. The Muscovites consider hares to be unclean, so that they cannot eat them themselves ; but they sell them to the Germans for three or four kopeks ; and venison is quite as cheap. An ox may be sometimes had for four or five imperials ; a calf for ten or twelve kopeks. They have learnt from Germans how to sow, cultivate, and propagate lettuce, cabbages, and several other garden products. Astracan produces melons ; Kiow, nuts and grapes ; and Muscovy produces in profusion most beautiful transparent apples, which many of the warmest countries might envy, and which they call *Nolivas*. Although in our time there was some scarcity of bread in the remoter provinces of Muscovy, still, so great is the plenty in ordinary seasons, that there is more than is wanted for consumption. The land is naturally fertile enough, if it were not left in uncultivated sterility by the laziness of the people.

OF THE GERMAN OFFICERS AND MERCHANTS
THAT LIVE IN MOSCOW.

The most illustrious lord* Francis, Jacobeïdes Lefort, is the first general and admiral of the fleet. Of the reformed religion in Muscovy, a native of Geneva, he came along with two or three companions more than twenty years ago, by way of the White Sea, into Muscovy, to seek his fortune; and he found what he sought. For in the year '88, on the outbreak of a revolt, their Czarish Majesties had betaken themselves to a monastery, called Droyza, as a place of security, in consequence of the open and sanguinary insanity of the archers, otherwise called Strelitz, which was not only raging against the Boyars with a blind and promiscuous cruelty, without the least consideration for personal worth, but was also athirst for the blood of their youthful princes.

In this day of peril, when the loyalty of a great many was shaken, and deliberating which

* Illustrissimus Dominus Franciscus Jacobeides Lefort, *i. e.*, Francis, *son of James*, according to the Russian fashion of adding the father's Christian name.—TRANSL.

fide to take, for the storm menaced an uncertain issue,—while fortune was, so to speak, in doubt to whom those vast dominions were due,—in that hour of direful danger, this Mr. Lefort started for Droyza, with a very small number of his soldiers, marching resolutely in advance of fortune's decree, and not lagging behind it. This loyalty, that never flinched for an instant in the very face of peril, raised him to that high place in the Czar's affection which even perverse envy cannot deny he deserved. Often hath fortune shaken off from her wheel, in the long run, many a one that long flourished in royal favour. The stormy waves have sometimes reached this man too ; but still we saw the Czar's attachment to him live through them, unaltered by the fates, to the envy of all the natives. Four years before his death he sent his only son to Geneva to receive a polite education. The Grand Duke himself was pleased, along with his chief ministers, to accompany this youth some miles on his way. When Lefort's nephew was coming into Muscovy, his majesty went three miles out to meet him, and gave him a valuable dress of his own. Perhaps he would have preferred to ex-

perience the greatness of the Czar's love and affection for him by some other kind of proof, but he could not have desired a more certain one than that which he received. He exhibited his real merit towards the Czar, when, notwithstanding the resistance of the entire council of the Boyars, he quickened his soul with the stimulus of glory to warlike virtue. Hence it was by the Czar's auspices, and not by the general's, that Azow, that stronghold of the *Palus Meotides*, was wrested from the Perecop Tartars. For though General Lefort, out of a horror of danger, never went near the works of the soldiers himself during the siege, still he judged contempt of danger to be the stamp of a great soul. It was he that was the cause of the recent grand embassy of the Czar, and he began it at a happy moment ; for it was a great matter for Muscovy to conclude a league with the most august Emperor, which was an ample security against foreign enemies. The Perecop Tartars would assuredly have been driven as exiles out of their peninsula, and have been cast out of the Crimea, without a place to pasture their flocks, and the Muscovite arms, after the storming of the fortress of Oczakow,

might have carried terror with a victorious fleet beneath the very walls of the Constantinopolitan Porte, if at the opportune moment of the league they had attacked the enemy with force equal to their fame. No Muscovite can deny that the public service and the advantage of his prince were always his foremost anxiety.

Freedom of coming and going was formerly denied to foreigners by a rude law, but has been allowed at his suggestion by the present Czar. He marvellously promoted the interests of commerce to the no small increase of the public wealth; nor is it less to his praise, that foreigners, whom they were in years gone by in the habit of coercing to embrace their religion, often with hunger and imprisonment, threats and tortures, are now left free in their own religion; on account of faith being a gift of God, which the Almighty bestows, and which force cannot inculcate. What will be the consequence of this sending of youth into foreign countries? If by their idleness they do not cheat the hopes preconceived of them, they will adorn the greatness of Muscovy with their counsels, will add to it by their experience, will guard her with their

prudence and fortitude. How stoutly he bore the anger of his prince when storming against him, those who were present at what happened at Pilaw and Königsberg are never tired of proclaiming. Attached to the reformed religion, he could not conceal his inborn hatred of the orthodox, indulging even in severity towards his own wife on that account, until the Czar, with the greatest and most praiseworthy good temper set bounds to the cruelties which he exercised towards her. Stumpf, the pastor of those of the reformed opinions, publicly inveighed from the pulpit against his inordinate desires. In other respects, conciliating the good will of his prince by his loyalty, his equals by his obligingness, and all by his courteousness, he used with moderation the authority to which he had attained. When he died, of an inflammatory fever, the regrets of numbers, and the tears of Majesty followed him to the grave. His annual salary was a thousand roubles.

The most illustrious Sir Patrick de Gordon, a scion of an exceedingly noble stock in Scotland, served first in the Swedish and afterwards in the Polish armies. Taken prisoner by the adverse

fate of war, he consented, on being pressed, to serve under the Muscovite standard, and gave such noble proof of his valour, that he was raised to the supreme military command, and stood long without a rival. At length, the envy of Basil Galizin burst out against him—the same Galizin who was the minister of Sophia's ambition when she trampled on the tender years of the Czar by a haughty usurpation of the sovereign power, and who now, punished as he deserved, pays the penalty of his attempts upon authority, in Siberian exile. He would have driven Gordon from the very apex of military rank down to the last grade of a non-commissioned officer ; but, trying his envious bite upon the very sharp knotted club of Hercules, he only gored his own jaws. For being convicted of an illegal correspondence with the lily-bearing folk,* against the state interests of Muscovy, he would, beyond all hope, have lost both life and fortune at one blow, if the Czar, who was then about laying the foundations of his power and his clemency together, had not sent the convict into exile.

* The French : from the Bourbon *fleur de-lis*.—TRANSL.

Galizin found out how easy is the way from home into banishment ; while Gordon, on the other hand, who had bravely borne for a while his undeserved lot, and the severe oppression of envy, being restored by the Czar's clemency to his former rank as General, learnt, to his profit, that many are raised by emulation above others, and that envy makes the fortune of many. He performed his military duties with prudence ; nor will the Muscovites deny him, when dead, the honour they owed him living. Always cautious, he had the care and welfare of his prince so much at heart, and with such circumspect fidelity, that he never could be reproached with a rash act. Still, Muscovy liked his counsel better than his person ; using the man's sagacity as often as they had in hand any matter of peculiar difficulty to decide upon. He is said to be the originator of the scheme, when his prince was going to travel for awhile abroad, of dividing the authority of the Regency between three rivals, so that through the ardour of mutual rivalry they should administer everything pertaining to the tranquillity of the state with the more loyalty, and that none should reach that

power of which all were ambitious. Nor would the honour of the Cross of Malta have been purchased at such cost,* if the popular favour, inclining too much towards a certain person, had not given rise to a suspicion of danger, such as often transferred kingdoms; for sometimes it has been rather a punishment than an honour to be sent on foreign embassies and into strange countries. What, for example, is more common than to banish from a capital, under the deceitful mask of honour, those whose power or popularity gives grounds for apprehension? Simple, indeed, but still, should a fortunate occasion offer, ready to dare; prudence of counsel, ripeness of judgment, and a solicitude that prepared beforehand for every contingency, adorned Gordon. He had so won the Muscovites, who are by nature hostile to strangers, and hate a distinguished foreigner, by his heedlessness of his own renown, and his charming sociability, that when an intestine tumult arose, his house afforded a safe and secure asylum to the very natives. Often called *Father* by his sovereign, honoured

* Szeremetow.

by the Boyars, worshipped by the Dumnoi, dear to the nobles, and loved by the people, he gained such authority with them all, as a native could hardly have aspired to. A great artist in pretexts and dissimulation, conformably to Aristotle's admonition, saying nothing to the ruler of Muscovy except what he knew would please, lest, while he studied the advantage of others, he should damage himself and his family.

My astonishment knew no bounds when, upon my complaint of servants of the Imperial Lord Envoy having been insulted by soldiers, and demanding satisfaction in the Lord Envoy's name, when I touched upon the immunity of ambassadors, which is sanctioned by the common law of nations, he replied that an ambassador was not free in Muscovy, and that delinquents might be carried off to punishment from the ambassador's court by lictors. No case, however, occurred in our time to afford us experience of what truth there may be in this. What happened to the Swedish marshal was limited by peculiar circumstances; nor am I of opinion that that immunity of ambassadors, which is every-

where maintained with so much jealousy by those who are sent abroad in that dignified capacity, is abrogated by any positive decision to the contrary in Russia; for if so, the natural consequence would be that the Russians would place themselves beyond the pale of other nations by a law so barbarous and uncivilised.

In fine, Gordon, who was a man advanced in years, died most devoutly at eight o'clock in the morning of the 9th of December, 1699, after our departure from Muscovy, on which occasion he had accompanied us as far as Filli. His Majesty the Czar visited him five times during his last illness, and on the last night was with him twice, and with his own hands closed his eyes after his spirit had fled. His Majesty the Czar knew how great was the loss of such a man to him, and therefore gave orders that the funeral of General Gordon should be conducted with the same pomp as had been appointed for General Lefort. Three regiments of the Guards accompanied it in mourning, the trumpets and drums resounding sadly, the Czar occupying his usual place in the regiment; four-and-twenty great guns were fired, giving a character of grief

or applause to the funeral. The service, sacrifice, and sermon were duly performed by the Imperial missionary, Mr. John Berula, by command of the Czar. The Czarewicz and the Czar's favourite sister, Nathalia, were present at the devotions in the Catholic church, the day before. Gordon's annual stipend was also fixed at a thousand roubles.*

* "Patrick Gordon, of Achleuris," says Von Adelung (*Kritische-Liter. Uebersicht der Reisenden in Russland*, vol. ii.), "a scion of a distinguished Scottish family in the county of Aberdeen, was born on the 31st May, 1635. In the year 1651 he was sent to Braunsberg, to complete his education in the Jesuits' College there. But after three years he ran away secretly from that institution to return home to his own country. Arrived in Hamburg he was induced to enter the Swedish service, and then began that series of martial adventures in which five distinct times he was a prisoner of war, passed into Polish and Brandenburg services, and finally, in 1661, into Russia; where he entered as major into the service of Alexis Michaelowicz. In 1667 he was sent on a mission to England, returned in the following year back to Russia, and from that time until his death remained in the home of his adoption. Peter the Great had learnt to value and esteem the brave and clear-sighted warrior, and bestowed upon him his entire trust. On the 9th of December, 1699, Gordon died General-in-Chief, in Moscow, where Peter the Great visited him several times during his illness, and was with him at the moment when his soul departed from its mortal coil."

"Gordon left him," adds Von Adelung, "an autograph journal in the English language, wherein he wrote his life from the time of his birth until the year 1699, and which is preserved in MS., in six quarto volumes, which are in the Imperial

Adam Weyd, born in Muscovy of German parents, disliking the profession of physic, entered the army. By his own industry he learnt so well from books the art of constructing mines, that he became known and esteemed by his sovereign. But all his sedulous labour in constructing mines, at the siege of Azow, with the consent of his prince,

“archives at Moscow. A copy, in five quarto volumes, belongs
“to the Imperial Hermitage, and one volume has been trans-
“lated into Russian by Herr von Kohler, junior. Müller has
“printed several extracts from this MS. journal in the second
“volume of his *Samml. Rufs. Gesch.*; and among others, the
“narrative of Gordon’s campaign against the Tartars in the
“year 1687.” (*See Bd. II.*, pp. 441—178).

“Gordon left three sons and one daughter who later was married secondly to Major-General Alexander Gordon. The last-mentioned is author of an account of Peter the Great, which was printed under the following title:—

““The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, to which is prefixed a short General History of the Country from the rise of that Monarchy. By Alexander Gordon, of Achintoul, Aberdeen. 1755. 2 vols. 8vo.”

A German translation of this work, by C. A. Wichmann, was published in 1765. 2 vols. 8vo.

Gordon’s Biography may be found in Dr. Benj. Beckmann’s *Peter der Grosse, als Mensch und Regent*. Mittau, 1830. B. vi. pp. 175—185; also in *Neues St. Petersburg. Journ.* 1778. Bd. iv. April; *Korbs Diarium*, p. 214; Beckmann’s *Lit. der Altern Reisen*. Bd. ii. p. 387; Müller’s *Samml. Rufs. Gesch.* Bd. ii. p. 141, &c.

What an interesting publication would not Gordon’s journal be at this moment! How many curious details must be locked up in those six quarto volumes of MS. which he left behind him?

—TRANSL.

turned out so unfortunately, that instead of hurting the enemy, against whom they were directed, they only proved damaging to the Czar's soldiers, blowing some hundreds of them that were on guard in the trenches into the air. He had the rank of Major when he was sent to announce the late grand Muscovite embassy to the Emperor's court. He was in the Imperial camp and accompanied the expedition when the most august Emperor's General, the most Serene Prince Eugene of Savoy routed the Turks with such dire slaughter at Zenta near the Theiss. He is never tired of acknowledging what an amount of experience of the art of war he drew from that *palestra* of so many heroes and most gallant men. He piques himself on the most Serene Prince Eugene of Savoy's having, with that innate politeness which he shows to everybody, even asked his advice. While we were still in Moscow he solicited the title of brigadier-general, which is about the equivalent of major-general. They say that now the two Generals, Lefort and Gordon, are dead, he aspires to the highest military rank. He has felt the lightnings of wrathful Jupiter, nor will he ever forget

the giddy and infecure freak that fortune played him at Veronaifch to teach him equanimity in adverfity as well as in fuccefs.

General Mengden has a falary of 600 roubles. The two brothers Riman are alfo Generals in Mufcovy; one of them, Charles, was flogged almoft to death (*pené ad mortem cæfus est*) for refusing to give up a German coat that he had, for theatricals.

There are a great number of colonels in Ruffia. Of thefe, Cafimir de Grage, a Catholic, an Imperial colonel of artillery, was fent by the moft auguft Emperor, about four years ago, to ferve the Czar. Next in rank to him are thofe who command the four regiments which they call the Guards: Baron de Blumberg, a member of the Courland nobility, of the confeffion of Augfburg; James Gordon, fon of General Gordon, a Catholic; Lima, a Catholic, whose annual pay is two hundred roubles; Schambers (Chambers?*) is of the confeffion of Augfburg. There are feveral other colonels, but without

* Chambers was, I believe, a Scotch gentleman of the Chambers or Chalmers, Laids of Balnacraig.—TRANSL.

regiments ; in time of peace, or when not actually engaged in war, they merely bear the name of colonels, satisfied to live on half-pay as long as they may live idly in Moscow. Of this number are Acchentowel,* from Scotland, a Catholic; Palck de Werden, Meus, Brüs [Bruce], Junckmann, Jungers, Werner, Westhof, Angler, Lefort, de Delden, Cimbier, Toubin. These are all sectaries of the reformed or of the Anglican confession. The last-named, Toubin, a man decrepit with age, spent thirteen years miserably in Siberia; his annual pay was not above a hundred roubles, to which quite lately twenty more have been added.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Of Germans† in the Muscovite service are : Colom, Duprez, Levingston [*Livingston*], Bordwig [*Borthwick*], Rosfurm, Bogowski, Salm,

* Alexander Gordon, of *Achintoul*, afterwards rose to the rank of Major-General, and left a history of Peter the Great, which was printed at Aberdeen in two volumes 8vo. in 1755.—
TRANSL.

† As the reader has probably already remarked, our author uses the word *German* for all foreigners in Muscovy. This probably arises from the fact, that the Russians commonly use the sameword to express a German and a foreigner.—TRANSL.

Brüßs [*Bruce*], Delden, Lipfdorf, Clemenz, Schlippenbach, Ronard.

MAJORS.

Menefius [*Menzies*], Taurlaville, Straus, Schilling, Kleim, Niz, Oſtoja, Holſt, Goſt, Weber.

CAPTAINS.

Rickman, Gummert, Erckel, Baccho, Prinz, Gordon, Liman, Soes, Bock, Funck, Bordwig [*Borthwick*], Sawanſki, Frobes [*Forbes*], Weyd, Holſt, Polſt, Roſfurm, Kaldberner, Breyer, Grob, Zege de Manteifel, Weſthof, Meus, Goſt, Brand, Prinek, Hambel [*Campbell?*], Pablowſki, Berner, Winter, Engels, Robert, who was flain by the foldiers that he led to the nuns' monaſtery, two Müllers, Oſtrowſki, Fadenreich, Hochenrein, Edenbach, Elinhaufen, Kellinghaufen.

SEA CAPTAINS.

Bamberg, Kiehn, Meier, Reis, who alſo acts as paymaſter.

LIEUTENANTS.

Prigen, who, for aſking for his diſcharge,

underwent the *battok* by order of Galizin, and is banished to Cafan, Phograd [*Fogarty* ?], Lizkin, Wud [*Wood* ?], Leiko, Fastman, Junger, Rickman ; the rest are Muscovites.

Several of these officers are of Courland and Livonian families. They come to Muscovy from those remote regions, and traverse that long and perilous route, induced to undertake that long pilgrimage by the idea of shaking off the yoke of the Swedes, which they complain of as intolerable and growing every day more oppressive. One of them, in familiar discourse confidentially avowed to me that he had come to Russia to find out whether the Grand Duke was powerful enough and in a position to protect the Livonians and defend them against the violence of the Swedes. He said that there were others for the same purpose of exploration in Poland : for that Livonia wanted to throw off the yoke of Sweden and transfer her allegiance to some other powerful neighbour, because the king of Sweden deprives the inhabitants of Livonia of all their advantages, and every day burdens and oppresses them more and more with an almost intolerable amount of taxes and contributions. The same

officer added, that after being a year and a half in Muscovy he was unable to discover that any help could be hoped for from the Muscovites.

When his Majesty the Czar made war upon the Turks and Tartars, and designed to cast them out of their stronghold, he wrote friendly letters to the Imperial Court and some other German powers, to ask for persons skilled in military engineering and the construction of mines. Thereupon, the following persons were sent to him by the most august Emperor of the Romans :—

Casimer de Garge,* Colonel of Artillery ;

Baron de Borgsdorff,†

Laval,

Laurence Schmid,

Laurence Urban,

} Military engineers in chief ;

and likewise six miners with their non-commissioned officers.

* *Sic*, though elsewhere our author writes the same officer's name De Grage.—TRANSL.

† *Sic*, though in other places throughout the book his name is written De Burkerdorff, and De Burgdorff.—TRANSL.

The most serene the Elector of Brandenburg in like manner sent him :—

Rose,	}	Military engineers ;
Holtzman,		
Johann-Jacob Schuster,	}	Artillerymen.
Elias Kober,		
Samuel Hack,		
Gustaf Gifewetter,		

The most puissant the States of Holland sent the following individuals to Muscovy :—

De Stamm,
Goufki,
Gordes [*Gorges* ?],
Schnid,
Sperreuther.

The merchants that live for the sake of trade at Moscow, are mostly Englishmen and Dutch. One Italian only has come to Moscow, and still remains, Anthony Gusconi, a Catholic, from the dominions of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. There are a great many non-Catholics, such as Minder, Goll, Wolff, Brandt, Lipps, Popp, Leiden, Hackenbrandt, Isenbrandt, Kannengießer.

OF THE BOYARS AND PRINCIPAL STATESMEN
OF MUSCOVY.

Knes Bazil Galizin* was viceroy of the kingdoms of the Casan and Astracan, minister of foreign affairs,† and keeper of the Czar's seal. A prime minister indeed, and one whose reputation for prudence and fortitude gave him so complete a sway over the minds of the youthful Czars,‡ that he might be said to reign in their name. He combined political and military functions, contending with an exceeding powerful army against the barbarians, and sought to deserve the sovereignty of Russia by counsel and deed. Fortune flattered a hope so impious, but

* The family of the Princes Galizin is ancient, very illustrious and still numerous in Russia. They are not, however, descended from Rurik, the grand progenitor of the old reigning dynasty of Moscow and its agnates, the majority of the present and extinct princely families of the Russian empire. The Galizins, in common with the princely Polish families of Wiszniowiecki, Czartorski, and Sapieha, trace their origin to Guedemin, Grand Duke of Lithuania, the ancestor of the Jagellon dynasty in Poland.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Fam. de la Russie.* Paris, 1845).
—TRANSL.

† “*Negotiorum legatoriorum administrator.*”—ORIG.

‡ The brothers Ivan and Peter, who for a time reigned jointly. The feeble Ivan resigned his share of authority to Peter in 1688, and died in 1696.—TRANSL.

failed him at last, when he daringly attempted what was unlawful and too lofty, when coveting that sovereign rank which he approached so nearly, and growing dizzy with the fatal desire of possessing himself of the sceptre itself, he was hurled by a fall most grievous down to the lowliest lot of man in exile. Then were detected the dangerous machinations of Horne, and the pestilent counsels that had so long been sold under the pretence of the greatest friendship. This pest was raging with irreparable damage at the time when Basil Galizin marched with an army against the Tartars. The Crimea contains a desert of several hundred miles in extent by continual devastations; Galizin set fire to the grass of this desert, under pretext of depriving the Tartars of forage; but in reality, in order to celebrate the obsequies of his troops amidst those most fatal pyres. For presently, feigning that the Tartars were rapidly approaching, he urged his whole army to flight athwart the burning herbage. Many thousands perished most miserably, stifled in the black and pestilent smoke. The author of this immense disaster was soon clearly known, and the councillor was found stamped

upon the gold pieces which were discovered to be the commonest coin among Galizin's treasures. He confessed himself that he was the fomentor of that dreadful treason, and was stripped of all that he possessed, and sent at first to trap fables in Siberia. At present, through his prince's indulgence and the commiseration of some great personages, he has had a residence nearer to Moscow assigned to him, and his daily maintenance, which in exile was fixed at one altin, is now increased to several. He has another solace in the company of his wife, the companion of his misfortune, as she was of his prosperity. His functions are now divided between two.

Leo Kirilowicz Nareskin obtained the administration of foreign affairs. His stepping-stone to this eminent position was his sister, Nathalia Kirilowna, the mother of the present Czar. There are some that envy him the name of prime minister, because, though young, he has been set over the ambitious counsels of some older men. But the eminence of the functions which he performs, when compared with the condition of his predecessors in that dignity,

seems to settle the whole dispute. Always of an even temper, this man knows well the prerogative of the office which he bears, except when he happens to give ear to an evil counsellor. Ukrainzow is a man of considerable craft. Diak Bosnikow, too severe upon many. Nareskin reckons ten thousand serfs upon his property.

The supreme administration of the kingdom of Casan and Astracan was given to Prince Boris Alexiowicz Galizin* upon the banishment of his brother Basil, in consequence of his being found perfectly innocent of his brother's crime. These two great men, between whom the fortune of unhappy Basil is divided, burning with mutual rivalry, cordially pursue one another with hatred, sometimes without any disguise. Each pretends that the other's office is an accessory of his own. Up to the present the Czar has not cared to give his attention to put an end to this state of things, by taking his decision as master about their disputations and quarrels—which are sometimes flar-

* The Narisckhins, who had then but just emerged from utter obscurity, attained importance by marriage with the imperial house; the mother of Czar Peter being of that family, and sister of the prime minister so often mentioned in this Diary.—TRANSL.

derous. This Galizin has a saying that he esteems "*the faith of the Russian, the prudence of the German, and the fidelity of the Turk.*" He is a most vehement zealot for the Russian religion: he has earned the name of John the Baptist among the vulgar, for having induced so many foreigners to allow themselves to be baptised again. Descended of a most ancient princely family, which traces its origin from a Polish stock, he keeps up a stately court, worthy of the exalted rank of his house. He maintains Italian architects in his service, and has got them to build two most beautiful churches in his villages of Dobrowiza and Vefomba, everlasting monuments to his renown and his prudence. Skilled in the Latin tongue himself, he has given his sons Polish preceptors to teach it to them, conscious of what advantage it will be to those destined to have intercourse with foreign nations.

Tichon Nikitowicz Strefnow was the Czar's guardian during his minority. He is now president of the Chancery of Ukases (*Cancellariæ ordinatoriæ*), and all ukases, decrees, orders, and commands concerning the state of Muscovy and political government, depend on him. Under the

name of *Rosserade*, he is the competent judge of all cases respecting the nobles—a kind of function, perhaps, not unlike that of Grand Constable. He is a man of such spotless loyalty, that often at public banquets, when toasts are drunk, his name is the type under which all true men to the Czar are comprehended, and the words Tichon Nikitowicz mean the most trusty of ministers.

Knes Michaël Lehugowicz * Tzerkaski is a man of sober years and manners, whose blameless probity of life and honoured hoary locks have gained the affections of everybody. In our time, when the Czar was going to Azow, he appointed him his vicar, and gave him authority at Moscow second only to his own.

Knes Feodor Inrowicz Romadonowski, Boyar and Generalissimo of the four regiments of the Guards, has the supreme jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. During the Czar's stay abroad he held the reins of power, with title of Viceroy

* The family of Tcherkasky, though long in Russia, and intermarried with the imperial house, is not of Russian but of Circassian origin, having come originally into Russia from Grand Cubardia, where one of its branches still reigns.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Familles de la Russie.* Paris : 1845.)—TRANSL.

and Governor-General (*pro Regis et gubernatoris nomine*). The antiquity of his family, of which he is the head, adds to his consideration.

Knes Peter Ivanowicz Profarowski, Boyar, and Treasurer of his Majesty the Czar, is of a distinguished family, but more remarkable among his countrymen for the sanctity of the life which he leads. He never opens a door, for fear of contaminating his hand by the contact of what perhaps the touch of an unclean person, or of a foreigner,—all of whom he believes to be heretics,—may have sullied.

Besides these, the persons of greatest rank are—Alexis Simonowicz Schahin, Boyar, General-in-Chief of the armies of his Majesty the Czar; Feodor Alexiowicz Golowin, Boyar,* Admiral of the Czar's fleet, and Governor of Siberia, who has laudably performed the functions of governor and of ambassador, first to the Chinese, and

* Golowine. This family traces its origin to the Crimea, from whence it emigrated in 1488. It reckons thus among the illustrious houses of Russia, without being originally of Russian stock. Golowin was created a Count of the Holy Roman Empire in 1702, a title which his descendants still enjoy.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Familles de la Russie.* Paris : 1845.)

lately, with M. Lefort, to divers European princes. On the 20th of March the Czar conferred upon him the first cross of knighthood of the Order of Saint Andrew, which he had instituted. Artemon Alexiowicz Golowin, General of the regiment of Bebraschentsko. Boris Petrowicz Szeremetow,* Boyar, and General of the army of Bialogrod. In the year 1695, in conjunction with Ivan Moseppa, chief of the Cossacks, he invested the island of Tawan and the Tartar city of Kirikirmini. He brought home rich booty after its surrender, though some assert that he had bound himself by oath, after the Russian manner, by placing his hands upon the cross and kissing images, to allow liberty to every one to retire with as much goods as they could carry off without carts. He was at one time ambassador at the Imperial Court. He lately visited Italy and the fleet of the Knights of Malta, and purchased thus, at great cost, the cross of Malta. Vehement in council, and stout of hand, he is the terror of the Tartars—a main

* The family of Sheremetow is illustrious in Russia, tracing its origin up to the fourteenth century.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Familles de la Russie.* Paris : 1845.)

ornament of Russia. Feodor Madreowicz Aprazen, Boyar, and ex-Governor of the port of Archangel. General Ivan Ivanowicz Butterlin.* General Knes Dolgorugoy,† who was some years ago ambassador in France. Knes Ivan Ivanowicz Tzerkaski. Knes Andreas Michaelowicz Tzerkaski. Feodor Fedrowicz Plesceow Tzareiwicz Melitinski. Two Lubochins,‡ brothers of the Czarine, one a lieutenant, the other a non-commissioned officer. Troikurow, president of the Chancery of the Strelitz. Boris Bovisowicz Galizin. Maduei Brodawicz. Few of these Boyars are summoned to the meetings of Council; the others retain nothing but the honorary name. I do not mean that all the Boyars are enumerated above, for there are several others away from the Czar's court as governors of provinces.

* The family of Bouterlin is very ancient and famous in Russia. They were originally entitled Boyars, but in the last century they were created Counts.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Familles de la Russie* Paris: 1845.)

† The family of Dolgorouki, which is of princely degree, and one of the agnate lines of the original reigning family of Russia, is both illustrious and important.—(*Vide Notices des Principales Familles de la Russie*. Paris: 1845.)

‡ Lapouchin.

The Referendaries are next in rank to the Boyars. Some of them are Dumnoi-Diaks, and are in reality secretaries of state (in time Cancellarii). The most important of these are the following : Procop Bogdanowicz Wofnizin ; Emilian Ignatowicz Ukrainzow ; Andrew Andreowicz Wignius, Artemonowicz.

Procop Bogdanowicz Wofnizin has filled several embassies. Long ago he was ambassador to the Turkish Sultan, the Shah of Persia, the King of the Poles, and to the illustrious republic of Venice in the years 1697 and 1698. He was joined with General Lefort and Boyar Golowin in the magnificent embassy that went to the Elector of Brandenburg, the most puissant the States of Holland, and the most august Emperor of the Romans. He was present as plenipotentiary at the negotiations for peace with the Turks which were held at Carlowitz, where he managed the affairs of his prince wonderfully, if he can manage to explain away the fault of the two years' armistice. Yet he seems to be quite pardoned for his fault, inasmuch as he has not only obtained the prefecture of the Czar's *Apotheca*, which it is not customary

to bestow upon any person whose merits and loyalty are not clear, but moreover has been lately honoured with a new diplomatic mission, being appointed to go to the Swedes.

Emelian Ignatowicz Ukrainzow Dumnoi-Diak, of the Ambassadorial Chancery,* Privy Councillor and Secretary of State, Lord Lieutenant of Cargopol, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte, has been brought up from his youth among public affairs. He was formerly ambassador to the States of Holland, and has left behind him everywhere vestiges of singular prudence, and transacted his business so successfully and in such a praiseworthy manner, that he acquired so much reputation as to provoke the envy of his rivals. Often was he brought into danger of losing his life by the perverse slanders which certain people told to his prince, but he was saved from their snares by the mercy of God, and reconciled to his prince by demonstrating the purity of his actions, hatred of which had raised him up enemies. Of all men in Muscovy he was deemed the best calcu-

* Foreign Office.

lated to redeem by his more wary solicitude the error of the two years' armistice of Carlowitz, which another had committed. What the newspapers have asserted with their usual mendacious liberty, about his arrival in Constantinople, the insolent salute of artillery, his captivity, and the Sultan's indignation, is contrary to the truth. He himself is a much more trustworthy authority touching the whole of his journey to the Sublime Porte, and of his treatment, an account of which he wrote to the Lord Aulic Councillor of War, ex-ambassador to Muscovy, M. de Guarient.

Andrew Andreowicz Wignius, Privy Councillor of his Majesty the Czar, and Chancellor of the kingdom of Siberia, was born of a German father, and, treading in his father's footsteps, embraced the Russian religion. He has filled several foreign embassies and different offices in Muscovy. Ask not with what spirit everywhere he gave proofs of his prudence and his extraction. As Dumnoi of the Chancery of Siberia, not only he enjoys no salary, but even pays a thousand roubles per annum to the Czar upon the condition that all the Woivodes of Siberia shall be

dependent on him : and he creates none of them without a profitable consideration. He is of a cultivated mind, and exceedingly crafty. He governs the Woivodes by the dread they have of him, and deters them from rapine. For he questions the merchants who have come from China through Siberia, what they paid for toll to the Woivodes. When he learns that there has been either too much paid or too dishonest a deficit, he threatens the Woivodes, by letter, with the knout, confiscation, death, and all manner of direful things, unless they refrain ; that he will suborn secret spies who will acquaint him with every single act they do. Without making mention of the merchants, he feigns that other persons have given information, lest on their return through Siberia the Woivodes, athirst for revenge, should be still sharper on them. It is not two years since he appointed a Woivode to a place where preceding Woivodes had been in the habit of collecting only six hundred roubles per annum for the Czar, while this newly appointed man, driven to be more faithful by the dread of punishment, and by constant comminations, wrote some time since to his patron Wignius that he

had in hand ten thousand roubles for the Czar for one year's revenue: so advantageous to the state is it, that trustworthy men should be set to preside over the public offices.

The very Viceroy of Siberia, the richest of the Muscovite princes, the head of the Tzerkaski family, was convicted upon being impeached by Dumnoi Wignius. The Czar had appointed that prince to be governor-in-chief of all Siberia, from a belief that a man rolling in private wealth would not covet his neighbours' goods, and would be proud of attending faithfully to the interests of his sovereign. But those that have drunk deepest are the most thirsty for water. Never was there a man more rapacious, but not without devices to escape being accused of direct robbery. He exacted nothing from the merchants: he substituted his diligent domestics for that purpose. These fellows, like harpies, let nothing escape intact. Whatever was commendable for costliness, rarity, or beauty that the merchants had brought with them, this horde of servants drove and compelled them to leave behind, to their great loss, unpaid for in Siberia. If there still happened to remain anything among their

wares, the fatal beauty of which was pleasing to the Woivode, access, hearing, and leave to depart were denied—the Woivode indeed being, as he used to pretend, ignorant of the whole affair ; but, in reality, being himself the author, and suggesting every mode of fresh exaction. Accused therefore of breach of trust, the Czar summoned him to Moscow, and when he could not wipe out the crime objected to him, he was condemned to be hanged, and he deserved it. The convict had actually mounted the gibbet, which was set up in front of the Chancery, in the citadel, and had the halter about his neck, when he was graciously reprieved from the penalty of death, and dragged off to another ; being compelled to bear more than a hundred stripes of the knout at the hands of the executioner, previous to passing the rest of his wretched days on board the Czar's galleys—a miserable warning of the exact fidelity with which the sovereign's affairs are to be performed.

Artemonowicz, Dumnoi-Diak, appointed ambassador in ordinary to the most potent States of Holland, has taken his wife and children along with him, and is to stay for three years. Eight sons of Boyars follow him, at the Czar's pressing

command, to acquire skill in navigation, and matters connected with seafaring during that period. He is well acquainted with the Latin tongue, and uses it more fluently than the others ; he has won the Czar's good graces by his reputation for extraordinary prudence, is certainly polite, and of a sociable and refined character for a Muscovite. The fortress of Riga, through which he lately passed on his way to Holland, saw a sample of the estimation that he sets upon honours. Upon his arrival and entry within the walls he was saluted with a discharge of great guns, which is one of the highest marks of respect in European courts ; but to Artemonowicz it appeared an impertinence. "What means that bellowing," cried he, "if my hungry stomach is barking : " setting more store of honour in wine, brandy, and comestibles, than those marks of respect that were paid to him.

The Diaks, a title which they interpret *cancel-lista*, but who in reality, if we consider their function, are secretaries of the ambassadorial chancery, are two in number—Basil Bosnizin and Boris Michalowicz, who have earned respect by the missions which they filled abroad.

What cautions and precepts to be observed they are in the habit of giving their agents upon foreign missions, let this one instruction given to the Marshal of the great Muscovite embassy, which I here set forth at full length, stand as an example:—

“In our year 1698: by command of the great Lord the Czar, and Grand Duke Peter Alexiowicz of all Great, Little, and White Russia, Autocrat, to Godfrey Bristaff.

“You have written letters from Nimvegen to the grand ambassadors, that you were obliged to pay tolls that were exacted in divers places in Holland; but that you went from Nimveguen as far as Cleves by water, or by sea. That potwoda, posthorses, and forage for your own horses was very dear; that the money given to you in ready imperials will hardly be sufficient, and that it will consequently be necessary to send you an order for more.

“As soon, therefore, as these orders shall reach you, you shall with all possible diligence go on by the route which has already been recom-

mended to you ; proceeding without delay or useless stoppage as far as the frontiers of the empire.* If, as you admonish us, the imperials are insufficient for you, you shall, in case of necessity, command that there be delivered to you by the scribe and the master of the sables, five hundred ducats out of the treasure ; however, if a greater and extreme necessity press you, you shall cause a thousand ducats to be consigned into your hands ; but of the careful custody and useful employment of both sums, the imperials as well as the ducats, you shall render an accurate account. Moreover, should provisions be cheaper in places there, you shall diminish the allowances, but shall give as much as you think necessary lest there should be any unseemly want. Take care that all abstain from drunkenness ; pay less to those that get drunk.

“ Wherever sovereigns give rations, or money instead of them, to your company, you shall totally withhold the usual allowance. Moreover, from whatever city you may now be at, or shall arrive at henceforward, always advise thence the

* The Germanic empire. The original has “*finis Caesareos.*”
—TRANSL.

Grand Plenipotentiary Ambassadors at Amsterdam, or wherever else they may be, touching the progress of your journey.

“DUMNOI DIAK,

“PROCOP WOSNIZIN.”

“*In the year 1698, 25 March. By command of the Great Lord and Grand Duke Peter Alexiowicz, of all Great, Little, and White Russia, Autocrat; and by directions of the Grand and Plenipotentiary Ambassadors, General and Admiral and Governor of Novogrod, Francis Joczowicz Lefort; Commissary General of the War Department, and Governor of Siberia, Feodor Alexiowicz Golowin; and Chancellor and Governor of Bochowia, Procop, Bogdanowicz, Wosnizin: it is enjoined upon the Chamberlain (aulico) Godfrey Brifstaf:—*

“To set out from Amsterdam, through Holland, to Nimveguen; through the Brandenburg cities, Cleves, Wesel, Lippstadt, Münden, Hildesheim, Acherleben, and Hall; through the

Electoral Saxon cities to Leipzig, and thence through Bohemia to Prague, or by whatever shorter and more convenient road there may be, or the Electoral Saxon and Brandenburg commissaries and guides shall lead you, as far as the Emperor's frontiers. With him are sent the court (aulici) servants and domestics of the Grand Embassy. With him also is sent the Great Lord's money, his treasure of fables, the cloths, plate, and furniture of all kinds of the ambassadors, for the more secure and safe conduct whereof letters of passport have been delivered to him under the signatures and seals of the grand ambassadors. Before his departure the grand ambassadors wrote to request the most august the Emperor, the most serene the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, and the most serene the Elector of Brandenburg, to receive in a friendly manner at their coming, the servants sent on in advance, and to grant them *potwoda*, provisions, and the other necessary aids and furtherance on the road. When Bristaff himself shall reach Cleves, he shall request a commissary, provisions, and guides, and shall, with all precaution and circumspection, go on by

the road indicated to the frontiers of Saxony; and he shall be careful to do in like manner when he shall have crossed the limits of Saxony and entered those of the Emperor. But at the Imperial frontier he shall await the arrival of the grand and plenipotentiary ambassadors.

“If in any cities *potwoda* and rations should be refused, he shall hire horses, and according to the scale inserted in this instruction shall distribute an allowance in money among his company. For the necessaries of *potwoda*, provisions, and other expenses, in order to meet any extraordinary case, we have confided to the scribe of the ambassadorial chancery, Nikiphor Ivanow, the sum of four thousand imperial dollars (*solidonum imperialium**) to be employed only in case of absolute necessity. He shall set forth in detail in his book of accounts the sums expended and the purposes for which they were laid out, and

* I am not quite certain that the old dollar, or crown imperial is the coin meant. He has told us elsewhere that the Russian *kopek* of his day was worth about two *kreuzers*; and, again in another place, speaking of a new currency regulation which took place while he was in Russia, he says that the Russian treasury received these imperial solidi at fifty-five kopeks, and made an enormous profit by coining them into one hundred and ten kopeks immediately after.—*See Antea.*—TRANSL.

shall exhibit his account book, together with the remaining money, to the grand and plenipotentiary ambassadors; but shall, neither by himself or in the name of others, incur any superfluous outlay. He shall make answer to those that ask questions about the stay of the grand and plenipotentiary ambassadors, that they are still detained at Amsterdam about weighty affairs of his Majesty the Czar; but that they will shortly follow. To such, however, as may inquire touching matters of greater moment, which it is the business of the ambassadors to give answers about, he shall reply that he is a soldier, and ignorant of affairs of that nature. He shall enjoin upon the domestics of the ambassadors to comport themselves with modesty and composure, to go nowhere without leave, to abstain from excess in drink, not to disgrace themselves by brawls or altercations, or in any other way show themselves uncivil. He shall take great care of these particulars: those who, contravening this mandate, shall frowardly ramble or gorge themselves with wine, he shall punish according as he may see fit; but the clowns of the viler kind he shall order to be chastised with *battok* and caning.

The scribe Nikiphor Ivanow and Theodore Bulaew, shall never quit the money and treasure of fables for an instant, and shall have the assistance of three of the Hayduks, turn about for twenty-four hours; and he shall take heed with the scribes, that the latter remain with the treasure and guard it with careful vigilance. Finally, Bristaff himself shall from every city at which he arrives certify the grand and plenipotentiary ambassadors touching his stay and the progress of his journey, lest they should not know where they are, to what cities they are going, and what day they may be about proceeding further."

OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN PRINCES WHO
IN OUR TIME WERE AT MOSCOW.

The most Illustrious and most Reverend Friar Peter-Paul Palma de Artesia, Archbishop of Ancyra and Vicar Apostolic in the kingdoms of the Great Mogul, Golconda and Idalkan, exposed to His Majesty the Czar, who was then in Holland, the route he was under the necessity of taking, and by his humble entreaty obtained

from His Majesty a mandate to Knes Boris Alexiowicz Galizin, Viceroy of the kingdoms of Cazan and Astracan, not only enjoining him to receive the Archbishop with proper kindness on his arrival at Moscow, but further ordering that he should be conducted in safety to the frontiers of Persia, free maintenance being by special grace granted to him as long as he should be passing through the kingdoms and provinces belonging to His Majesty the Czar.

On the 6th of July, 1698, the Archbishop, accompanied by two priests, Captain Molino, a doctor, a watchmaker, and some other persons, arrived in Moscow. A house in Slowoda was at first appointed for his lodging; but on the third day after his arrival, Knes Galizin, to fulfil the Czar's command, assigned a part of his own palace to the accommodation of the Archbishop, his horses, and conveyances, for as long as he should stay in Moscow. On the 10th of July he honoured the festivity of the Octave of Corpus Christi with his presence. On the 16th of the same month, he fortified in the faith fifty Catholics with the sacrament of Confirmation. Meantime, Knes Galizin had a ship stored with

a variety of provisions, fitted out, on board which the Archbishop, provided with the Czar's credentials, proceeded on his way down the Ocka and Wolga, and so on by the Caspian Sea into Persia.

The most illustrious Sir John Stanislaus Boghia, Starof of Troki, Chamberlain of the most Serene the King of Poland, and his envoy extraordinary at the Court of his Majesty the Czar. When the rebellious bands of the Sapieha faction, ravaging in every direction, were exciting great tumult throughout all Lithuania, he was sent in quality of envoy to the Autocrat of Russia to announce the election of the new king, and his subsequent coronation. He was also charged to examine accurately the numbers and strength of the Czar's troops that were lying upon the confines of Lithuania, and to report the precise truth about them as soon as possible.

In consequence of the pillages of the Sapiehas, and the manner in which the roads were everywhere waylaid, it was by no means safe to travel with a becoming suite, splendid furniture, and the magnificence becoming his dignified character, for had the matter been discovered, he would

have lost both his life and all his goods. So, more sagely, attended by a single servant, unencumbered with any baggage, he escaped through the snares of the enemy, and fortunately reached the frontiers of Muscovy. Knes Michael Gregorowicz Romadonowski commanded the Strelitz towards Lithuania. The envoy could not assert the prerogative of his office to that prince, except by exhibiting his passport and credentials, excusing himself from presenting himself at the frontiers of Muscovy without a proper suite, by alleging the disorders in Lithuania. Romadonowski, commiserating the envoy's lot, furnished him, at his request, with a sufficient suite, horses and conveyances, to continue his journey to Moscow, the Czar's capital. Admitted, introduced, and accepted by the ministry, he took possession of the lodging that was assigned to him in the Palace of the Ambassadors. He complained greatly of the dangerous craft of the Muscovite ministry, he very often bemoaned how he had given up his passport and credentials to them, and how he had been captiously circumvented by them. When he was dining, on the 1st of July, 1698, with Boyar Leo Kirilowicz,

he showed him letters which he had received from his most supreme king, lauding the dexterity of the imperial envoy, and censuring his too easy mode of proceeding, and his giving up the letters of credence. He fell into some nonsense and contentions with a certain Knes Dolgorugoi, and is said to have challenged him to a duel, and, Dolgorugoi not coming to the ground, to have fired a pistol into his window.

The Muscovites were so mortified at this, that from that moment out they were to a man against the Lord Envoy in everything, and left hardly any stone unturned by which they might increase his annoyance and disgust. Detesting, moreover, this excellent man, having given him an answer touching his credentials, they were trying to get rid of him, and this gave rise to a fresh altercation. For the Pole refused to go until he had seen the sovereign to whom he had principally been sent. The matter being in consequence laid before the Czar, who at the time happened to be staying in Holland, his Majesty, whose singular prudence and most laudable equanimity shines forth in everything, wrote back in favour of the Pole to the following effect :—“ The

envoy is sent to me, not to you : let him remain therefore until I return. Meantime do you furnish him with a becoming maintenance." On account of some rather sharp words which reflected on his dignity, he, horrible to tell, ordered a certain interpreter of the Ambassadorial Chancery to be chastised with a scourging, to the incitement of fresh hatred ;—the Muscovite ministry bearing it ill, that, without their leave asked, their subjects should be beaten by foreigners, their minds were every day more estranged from the envoy ; so that the declarations of the Dumnoi and others most flatly pronounced him to be no envoy, that he had brought doubtful credentials—no certain name being expressed in them. Oil was poured on the fire when letters came from the Muscovite Resident at Warsaw, to the effect that the Poles knew nothing of, and would have nothing to do with, the envoy sent to the Czar. To this the envoy used to reply, that he had no doubt that some of the Poles, who were his private enemies, either knew nothing about the matter, or pretended that they did not ; that he was sent by the king and the republic ; that he was not solicitous about the knowledge, igno-

rance, or malevolence of private individuals, but that the character with which he was clothed was known well enough to the Muscovites ; for that, though his name was not expressed in one letter of credence, it was to be found in another ; that he had brought several letters of credence ; that the obloquy was aimed at his most serene king, and that he was pursuing insults addressed to his king, and not his own. And, to say the truth, even had he brought no credentials whatever, I have myself no hesitation in thinking that he was quite right, and that the usual entertainments and honours of an ambassador were due to him from the very fact that the Muscovites had not hesitated to receive him solemnly in the character of envoy ; for it cannot be open to their caprice that the same person be an ambassador at one moment, and the next not. Nevertheless, the Muscovites, almost totally averse to him, refused thenceforward to allow him the free maintenance customary in those countries, and, striving with might and main to annoy him in every instance they could, they imputed all to his fastidious ambition ; by all which he could not help sometimes being justly excited. The Danish Envoy pretended

to precedence over the Pole, because, as he used to say, "My king was born to the sceptre, but he of the Poles is only called to that eminence by free suffrages;"—disputes of which the Muscovites disapproved, as out of place. They tacitly took the side of the Pole, and if the greater or less splendour with which the envoys were honoured was not a matter of accident, it pronounced for the Pole. But they hated the man. He was dismissed, without any ceremony, on the 2nd of November.

On the 6th of December, when he was about to start for Veroneje, to the Czar, the Ministry stopped him, on the grounds of his being already fully dismissed, and that without fresh letters of credence there was nothing further to treat of. Still, he protested, when Major-General de Carlowicz, in consequence of fresh Lithuanian disturbances that were apprehended, solicited the Czar to send 20,000 troops, as soon as possible, to the frontier, and gave warning, moreover, that it would seem to him more judicious if His Majesty the Czar, instead of this perilous ostentation of strength, should complain to the republic of these insulting internal plots, as if it

turned to his own disparagement that after the election and coronation of a new king had just been announced to him, they should wish to proceed to another choice. Meantime, the Muscovites, to whom the envoy's long delay after his dismissal was displeasing, gave him notice that he must quit his apartments within the space of three weeks, and leave Moscow, and make room for the Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector of Brandenburg. But when they perceived that he was not making the slightest preparation to go, fifteen *potwoda* were sent, on the 11th of January, to the Court of the Ambassadors for his use, to accelerate his departure and the speed of his journey.

The most illustrious Sir Paul Heins, Envoy Extraordinary of the most serene the King of Denmark to the Czar's court, made it his principal study to preserve the friendly relations existing between his King and his Majesty the Czar, and to draw them closer and more intimate by the sanction of a treaty of alliance. Contending with the Envoy of Poland touching precedence, he set hereditary kingdoms above elective. On the 9th of October, 1698, the

Czar's Majesty, out of special condescension, stood godfather to a son of his. On the 1st of the following November, he went in chase of greater honours, when at an early hour in the morning he went to the Danish commissioner Baudenand's, where the Czar was known to have passed the night. But the serenity of the morning was overcast by some clouds in the course of the day : those clouds being gathered on the Czar's countenance by a too free contradiction. In like manner he was near conjuring up a tempest on the 15th of January of the year 1699. Under the pretext of business, having obtained leave to follow the Czar to Veroneje, he took his way thither on the 4th of March, along with the envoy of Brandenburg, on which occasion his arrival saved a courier of the Czar's half dead from the fury of an assembled mob of rustics, and the pillaging clowns fled in terror at the sight of the new comers ; while he denounced a Woivode that was slow in furnishing him with *potwoda* with such effect, that the man was cited to Veroneje and flogged with the knout. On the 29th May, he returned to Moscow, on the Czar's departure from Veroneje to Azow for a cruise.

The most illustrious Sir Marquard de Prinz, envoy extraordinary of Electoral Brandenburg, who, when his Majesty the Czar was in the Brandenburg States with his ambassadors, had acted as his commissary, made his solemn entry into Moscow on the 24th of January of the year 1699, having come to congratulate the Czar on his return to his own states and provinces. On the 4th of March he started, along with the Danish envoy, to Veroneje, where he received a present of the Czar's portrait, enriched with gems and precious stones ; returned thence on the 16th ; and, lastly, on the 26th, took his departure in state, the Muscovites accompanying him with a solemn cavalcade beyond the gates. On leaving he appointed Sir Timothy de Zadora Kesielski as Resident, to attend diligently to the interests of the Most Serene the Elector.

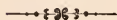
Denmark and Sweden have commissaries here, of whose services the ambassadors of those countries not unfrequently avail themselves. The Swedish is named Knipper ; the Danish, Baudenand.

And these things I was able to observe amidst

the distraction of more weighty affairs during the time of the embassy; the which, as well to feed the curiosity of the learned, as to give some idea of this nation to persons going into Muscovy, have been committed to type. Be indulgent, gentle reader, and if some over-plain speech should haply offend thy eyes, I intreat of thee to be persuaded that the style of writing adopted lays no pretensions to be historical, but is merely familiar. And should some errors, beyond those that have been noticed and corrected, have escaped the pen, unless thou approachest with a censorious spirit, thou canst easily amend them.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX OF ADDITIONAL NOTES.



NOTE TO THE NAME KINSKY.

[See Vol. I., p. 3.]

KINSKY, of the well-known great Bohemian family (born 1634, died 27th January, 1699), first distinguished himself in an Embassy to Poland in 1664. He was Chancellor of Bohemia when the Turks invaded Austria in 1683. He subsequently contributed greatly to the elevation of the Elector of Saxony to the Polish throne, which had taken place just before the date of our Diary.—TRANSL.

NOTE TO THE NAME OF THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR RUZINI.

[See Vol. I., p. 4.]

Carlo Ruzini, a noble Venetian, son of a Procuratore di San Marco, was the most illustrious

member of an ancient family, to which some ascribe an ancient Roman origin; but which others with more probability believe to have come from Constantinople to Venice between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Carlo was born in 1653. His father Marco was an illustrious senator of the Republic, and died in 1711. His mother was Catherina Zeno: she died in 1704. Carlo was ambassador in various courts, and was knighted. In 1692 he was ambassador to the Spanish court, and made a pompous entry; in 1695 he passed as ambassador to Vienna; in 1697 he was plenipotentiary and ambassador extraordinary at the Congress with the Turk, held in Carlowitz; in 1701 he was sent as ambassador extraordinary to congratulate Philip V., of Spain, in Milan; then he was sent to Constantinople; and while there, was in 1703 created a Procuratore di San Marco, from which time he was continually employed in distinguished internal offices of the Republic until 1712, when he was sent ambassador to the Congress of Utrecht. Upon his return thence he was again occupied in high domestic employments, being chosen in 1715 a Sage of the Council. Finally, after other dignities, he was in 1732 elected Doge of Venice, and died, aged 81, in 1734. He was a patron of

the painter, Longhi.—(*Capellari: Il Campidoglio Veneto. MS. in the Library of S. Marco, Venice.*)—TRANSL.

NOTE TO THE NAME OF LESCZYNSKI.

[See Vol. I., p. 19.]

Raphael Lesczynski, Grand-General of the Crown of Poland, was the father of Stanislaus Lesczynski, who was elected King of Poland in 1704, after a civil war, in which the Swedes turned the balance in his favour. After a few years King Stanislaus was again by civil dissensions driven out, and the Saxon, Augustus the Strong, restored. Stanislaus retired to Nancy, where he was the centre of an accomplished circle. His daughter Marie was the virtuous Queen of Louis XV. of France.—TRANSL.

NOTE TO THE NAME OF SAPIEHA.

[See Vol. I., p. 42.]

In 1695 the Bishop of Wilna, irritated at the ravages which Sapieha had caused his foldiers to commit in the diocese, launched an excommunication against him, which Sapieha caused to be burnt by the executioner. Some years later the

Pope arranged these differences. Sapieha, after the death of the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland, had great quarrels with the family of Oginski and other Lithuanian nobles, who accused him of arrogating royal authority, of having laid waste the estates of the nobles, of levying contributions, of having seized on the persons of the deputies sent by the States of Lithuania to King Augustus, and having countenanced the licentiousness of his soldiers. From that time Sapieha never went to diet or assembly without a strong and numerous escort. In 1700 the two parties came to a pitched battle, where Sapieha's faction was utterly routed. The whole Sapieha family was proscribed by the States of Lithuania, and their possessions confiscated. In 1702 they were reconciled with the States through the intervention of King Augustus; and, nevertheless, the turbulent chief of the family, who had been created a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire in 1702, joined that King's enemy, Charles XII. of Sweden. In 1711 he was fortunate enough again to make his peace with King Augustus. The princely family of Sapieha descends from an Agnate of the Jagellon dynasty; and still subsists in Poland.—TRANSL.

NOTE TO THE NAME OF CAPTAIN MOLINO.

[See Vol. I., p. 129.]

More correctly *Da Molino*. The family is one of the most illustrious of Venice; some say it came from Ptolemais; some say from Mantua. It was famous among the Crusaders. Malfatti says of them: “furono huomini grandi di persona, un poco cussi, molto cattolici, elemosinieri e di buona qualità, gran maestri di edificij, e massime di edificare Molini.” They bore a mill wheel for arms. They built sumptuous chapels in the Church of S. Giovanni e Paolo, and the Churches of S. Andrew and S. Agnes in their native city. The most distinguished of this patrician stock, Francesco da Molino, was elected Doge in 1645, and died in 1655. Perhaps the member of this family mentioned in this Diary as having accompanied the Archbishop of Ancyra on his way to the realms of the Great Mogul, was Philip (son of Mark) da Molino, who, in 1684, went with the Venetian Ambassador, Morosini, to Poland, and who died a Senatore di Pregadì in 1714, aged 50.—(*Capellari: Il Campidoglio Veneto. MS. in the Library of S. Marco, Venice.*)—

TRANSL.

NOTE ON THE RUSSIAN NOBILITY, ITS ORIGIN,
HISTORY, AND CLASSIFICATION.

In virtue of a law promulgated in 1682, all Russian nobles are in modern times entitled to equal rights, whatsoever may be their titles or origin. But in a merely honorary sense the Russian nobility is divided into five classes, viz., 1st, the Princes of the Russian Empire; 2nd, the Counts of the Russian Empire; 3rd, the Barons of the Russian Empire; 4th, the untitled gentry whose nobility dates back beyond the reign of Peter the Great: 5th, the untitled gentry whose noblesse is posterior to that reign.

In the category of untitled gentry whose noblesse is anterior to Peter I., there are families whose antiquity and historical lustre place them far above most of the houses of Counts of the Russian Empire. Such* are the Boutourlins, the Szérémétews, the Saltykows, the Samarins,

* Some branches of the families here mentioned have, however, been from time to time dignified with the title of Count: a line of Boutourlins, for example, created Counts in 1760; of Szérémétew, created Counts in 1706; a line of Saltykows are Counts since 1732, and raised to the rank of Princes in 1790; a line of Pouchkins are Counts since 1797; a line of the Golovins, created Counts of the Germanic Empire in 1707, were aggregated to the Counts of Russia in 1709.

the Pouchkins, the Sabourows, the Golovins, and others. The eldest line of the Saltykows, for example is untitled; the second line, Counts Soltyk of Poland; the third line, Counts Saltykow since 1732; the fourth and youngest that of the Princes Saltykow, created in 1790.

The nucleus of the great Russian nobility consists of the princely families descended in the male line directly and legitimately from Rurik, the first sovereign of Russia; and from Guedemin, Grand-duke of Lithuania, ancestor of the Jagellon dynasty of Polish kings.

Rurik, a heathen, who was of Norman origin, reigned according to the usual computation from 862 to 879. His great-grandson St. Wladimir (who, having lived before the final separation of the Greek and Latin Churches, is recognised as a saint in both), converted all Russia to Christianity in 988; and died in 1015, dividing Russia into twelve principalities among his eleven sons and a nephew. For four centuries this fatal division weakened Russia, was the source of constant internal discords, opened the way to the Mogul conquest (1236-1240), and threw the civilisation of the whole country for centuries behind the rest of Europe. At length, however, the Grand Dukes of Moscow (descendants of Rurik)

having, towards the close of the fifteenth century, attained supremacy, the other branches of the same race fell into comparative political insignificance. The Agnates were compelled to exchange their ancient sovereign appanages for rich private domains. Those who refused to do so were despoiled of all, and cast into dungeons.

The subjugation of the Agnates accomplished, the successful house sought to confound them with the Muscovite aristocracy. With this view two measures were adopted under Ivan the Great (III.), who ascended the throne in 1462. First a genealogical record (*Rosdoslovnaia Kniga*) was compiled, in which side by side with the old ex-sovereign princely Agnates, were inscribed the Boyar families of Moscow; to wit, the Romanows (who became subsequently the reigning family), the Szérémétews, the Saltykows, the Boutourlins, the Sabourows, the Plestchéiéws, the Samarins, the Kalitchews, &c. &c. This book was recopied under Ivan IV., and two families only—viz. the Adaschews, and the Golovins—were added to it on that occasion. The second measure taken under Ivan III. struck still more rudely than the first at the political position of the descendants of Rurik and of Guédemin. It established that thenceforth poli-

tical rank should be determined by the Court dignities held by the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of each personage. This rule, which was in force until 1682, rendered the rank of *Boyar* hereditary *de facto*, if not *de jure*, and completed the fusion of the old princely Agnates with the *Boyar* families. Thus the descendants of Rurik and Guédemin found themselves on a level at Court with those of the old servants of their kindred princes of Moscow. The institution which had its fountain in this law was called the *Mesnitchestvo*. When the *Mesnitchestvo* was abolished in 1682, a complete equality of all nobles before the law was introduced was established; and, at the same time, the ancient genealogical book was copied for the last time. The copy being bound in red velvet, was called, and retains the name of the Velvet Book (*Barhatnaia Kniga*). This “Book of Gold” of the Russian nobility is deposited in the Heraldic Chamber of the Senate of St. Petersburg. Notwithstanding many intrigues, no new *Boyar* family succeeded in obtaining a place in it: not even the Narischkins, strong in their recent intermarriage with the House of the Czars.

Until the reign of Peter the Great, the title of Prince (*Knes*, *Kniaz*), was, if we may trust to

Prince Dolgoruki, borne in Russia by families of sovereign origin only.* Peter I. introduced the practice of *creating* princes, counts, and barons—these last two titles totally foreign to Russia up to the eighteenth century. The first created Prince was Alexander Mentschikow (so often mentioned in this Diary), the pastry-cook's boy, who became successively Czar Peter's valet, favourite, and prime minister. He was created a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Leopold of Germany in 1705; and two years later Peter made him a Russian Prince. The two first Counts were the same Mentschikow, and High-Admiral, Field-Marshal Golovin,

* It has struck the translator, however, that Kord sometimes speaks of individuals, like Szérémétew, of illustrious but Boyar rank, by the style of *Prince*, which properly should only be the equivalent of the Slavic title *Knez*. It has occurred to him that the title *Knez* may then have been occasionally more loosely but improperly given socially, if not officially, to the greater magnates. The Russians now invariably translate their word *Knez* by that of Prince. Moldo-Wallachian Boyars not unfrequently assume the higher title. Certainly, in the southern Slavic countries, the title *Knez* was not always considered strictly as the prerogative of princely dignity. It was frequently both given to, and used by, magnates like the great extinct Zrini and Frangipani of Croatia, as an equivalent of their Hungarian title of Count: a fact of which the translator of this Diary convinced himself by an examination and comparison of contemporaneous Slavic and Latin original charters in private archives in Croatia.

—TRANSL.

on whom the Emperor Leopold conferred the rank of Counts of the Holy Roman Empire in 1702. The first Count of the Russian Monarchy was Field-Marshal Szérémétew (the distinguished and dignified *Boyar*, so often mentioned in this Diary as a Knight of Malta), whose title of Count dates from 1706. The first Baron of Russia was created in 1710, in the person of the Vice-Chancellor Schafirov. The title of Baron of the Russian Empire confers but slender social advantages. It was so little esteemed, as to be once conferred upon a Court dwarf (in 1726, Baron Titschinin). There are only eight families now extant in Russia with the rank of Russian Baron. Eight more are extinct. The posterity of one Russian Baron exist however in England, the Dimfdales, descended from Dr. Thomas Dimfdale, an English physician to the Russian Court, who was created a Baron of Russia in 1769. Among his achievements was vaccinating the Empress Catherine and the Grand Duke Paul, afterwards Emperor.

In 1722, Peter the Great promulgated a law, by virtue of which hereditary nobility was acquired down to a few years ago (and still with slight restriction), as of right, by all civil servants of a certain rank in the scale of public *employés*; and

by all officers of the land and sea service without exception. Thus every Russian soldier may hope to bequeath hereditary nobility to his descendants. Under the operation of this law the rank of noble is more easily attainable in Russia than anywhere else in the world. A slight restriction was however consequently introduced of late years, requiring higher rank in the civil and military services for the acquisition *ipso facto* of the right to hereditary noblesse. The great Souvárow, who died a Prince and a Field-Marshal, began life as a common soldier. The late distinguished Field-Marshal Prince Paskiewicz, Viceroy of Poland, was the son of a man who had earned his nobility in the army.

The Russian noblesse of princely degree is constituted as follows:—I. There are thirty-one subsisting houses of the male legitimate race of Rurik. II. One princely family representing by a female line a branch of his descendants. III. Two descending illegitimately from him, but in the male line. IV. Four that descend in the male legitimate line from Guedemin, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who was the progenitor of the Jagellon dynasty of Polish Kings. V. Ten houses of foreign princely origin who have been admitted as Russian princes. VI. Eleven

families of *created* princes—all of course made since Peter the Great's time.

Besides the above there is the category of families of princely origin that are settlers in Russia; and again, many Georgian, Armenian, Tartar, and Calmuck families who have assumed and bear with impunity the title of Prince.

The rank of Count, unknown to Russia before the time of Peter the Great, was conferred upon—I. Sixty families that are still extant; and four more that are already extinct. II. Besides which there are three families of Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, who are not Counts of the Russian Empire, though of Russian race.

With reference to *Boyar* families: There are, I. Forty-three extant Russian families of untitled nobility, inscribed in the Velvet Book; II. Three such families not recorded in the Velvet Book.

Of Polish Princes in the Russian Empire there are fifteen families; the latest creation being one by the Emperor Alexander I. in 1820.

There are eleven foreign families settled in Russia, who are of illustrious princely rank. These, as well as families having foreign titles of Prince, Count, &c., settled in the Empire,

are recognised as such and allowed to enjoy their titles : but unless they be princes, &c., of Russia, in the *official armorial* of the *Russian Empire*, they are ranked only among untitled nobles.—[See Dolgoruki, *Notices des principales Familles de la Russie*, &c.]—TRANSL.

NOTE ON SZEREMETEW AND HIS FAMILY.

[See Vol. I., p. 274.]

The family of Schérémétew, as their compatriot Dolgoruki writes their name, is one of the best, most historical, and most national houses in all Russia. Its authentic derivation may be traced to the fourteenth century. Its founder was Andrew Kabyla (or as others have it Kambyla), from whom are likewise sprung the houses of Kalytchew, Nepluiew, Barbarykine, Ladyghine, Konovtsyne, and, foremost of all, the Romanows (whose real name is Romanow-Youriew), that illustrious Boyar house called to the throne of Russia by the voice of the nation in 1613. Among the Boyars of the House of Szérémétew, several distinguished themselves in the wars of the sixteenth century. Boyar Theodore was eminent for his talents as a statesman, his valour and his uprightness. He was

married to a cousin-german of Czar Michael Romanow, and to him the House of Romanow mainly owed their elevation to the throne of Russia. Boyar Basil was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces under Czar Alexis, was made prisoner at the Battle of Tchoudново, and spent thirty years of his life in harsh slavery in the depths of the Crimea. His nephew Boyar and Field-Marshal Count Boris was the Szérémétew so often mentioned in this Diary as an honorary Knight of Malta. He was one of the most remarkable personages ever produced by this family, so fruitful of eminent men. He conquered Livonia and Esthonia, and was Commander-in-Chief at the Battle of Poltawa, where the army of Charles XII. was destroyed. We have seen how he was created an honorary Knight of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Peter I. created him a Russian Count in 1706. Count Boris was as estimable for the qualities of his character, as for his eminent talents for command. Noble, upright, beneficent, his death, which took place in 1719, was deplored as a calamity alike by the Russian army, which during twenty years he had led to victory, and by the poor of St. Petersburg and Moscow, who said: "We have now lost our adopted

“father.” Such is the character given by Prince Dolgoruki, of this true Knight.

Field-Marshal Szérémétew’s daughter, Nathalia, was the wife of Prince Ivan Dolgoruki, he to whose sister was betrothed the young Emperor Peter II., who died on the very day appointed for the celebration of the marriage.

The Empress Anne then ascended the throne; power passed into the hands of her favourite the ferocious Biren, Duke of Courland; and Prince Ivan Dolgoruki was exiled with all his family to Siberia. His heroic and gifted wife Nathalia Szérémétew accompanied him thither; and when nine years later her husband was brought back from Siberia to Novogorod, and cut into quarters, she returned to Russia and took the veil at Kiew. The day before pronouncing her vows, she went to the steep bank of the Dniepr, and cast into that broad fair river which flows past Kiew’s walls the nuptial ring from her finger. This constant woman lived thirty years afterwards as a nun, and died in 1771.—[See Dolgoruki, *Notices des principales Familles*, art. *Dolgoruki*.]—TRANSL.

NOTE ON THE CZAR'S FAVOURITE, GENERAL
LEFORT.

[See Vol. I., p. 162.]

Lefort was a native of Geneva, where he was born of a patrician family on the 2nd January, 1656. He entered the Swiss guards in the French service at the age of fourteen. Thence he went to the Netherlands, where he was at the sieges of Grave, 1674, and Oudenarde, 1675, under the Prince of Courland, who lost his whole regiment in these two sieges; and Lefort, embarrassed by the loss of his equipment and baggage, accepted a Lieutenancy in the Czar's service, which he entered upon in the summer of 1675, in his nineteenth year. He was handsome, bold and enterprising, generous and disinterested, spoke four or five languages well, and soon became advantageously known to the Danish resident, De Horn, and to several Princes and Boyars. Early in 1677 he got the command of a company of infantry; and with a view of settling in the country, married the daughter of Colonel Souhay. In 1683 he became Major, in the following year Lieutenant-Colonel, and then was placed in command of troops and artillery for a considerable expedition. In 1696 he con-

ducted the siege of Azow; and there showed such military skill, that he became the Czar's favourite. He was entrusted with the greatest affairs, made Commander-in-Chief by land and sea, Viceroy of Novogorod, and first minister of State, with the rank of ambassador and plenipotentiary to all foreign courts. At his death, in 1699, he left an only son, Henry, then absent, who became Captain of the first company of the Czar's guards, and died aged about twenty, in 1703, at Moscow. The general's nephew, Peter Lefort, who entered the Russian service in 1694, became a Lieutenant-General in Czar Peter's service. He married, first, in 1713, a daughter of General Weiden; and second, in 1717, a daughter of M. de Bœrner, of a principal family in Mecklenburg. He was the son of Ami Lefort, who was created a Knight of the Holy Roman Empire, by Leopold I. in 1698, and filled the principal offices of his native republic of Geneva till his death, aged 77, in 1719.

John, another nephew (often mentioned in this Diary) of General Francis Lefort, was Prussian Chamberlain, and a Councillor of the Czar, and was accredited as Russian Envoy to the Court of France in 1717, where he regulated the ceremonial for the Czar's reception. Later, he was

accredited to Poland, and was decorated with the *grand cordon* of Alexander Newski.—TRANSL.

NOTE ON THE FAMILY OF NATHALIA
KIRYLIOWNA NARISHKIN.

[See Vol. II., p. 125.]

She was the sister of the Prime Minister, Leo Narishkin, so often mentioned in this Diary. The family, according to Dolgoruki (*Notices des princip. Fam. de la Russie*) was of recent low extraction, descended from a Bohemian or Silesian boor; and, Dolgoruki adduces as a proof how jealously pure the official roll of the ancient noblesse of Muscovy was kept, by adducing the fact, that when the Velvet Book—the book of gold of the Muscovite nobility—was last transcribed in Czar Peter's time, the Narishkins, notwithstanding their close parentage with the autocrat, were unable with all their efforts to get admission to its pages.—TRANSL.

NOTE ON THE FAMILY OF PETER'S CZARINE.

[See Vol. II., p. 132.]

Eudoxia, or Ottokefa Feodorowna, was daughter of the Boyar Feodor Abramowitz Lapoukhin. Peter was married to her in his six-

teenth year, on the 29th of January, 1691. It was upon the birth of his son next year, that the turbulent Princess Sophia, seconded by Boris Galitzin, sought Czar Peter's life, exciting the Strelitz to a treasonable mutiny, from which Peter found safety in flight to the strong convent of the Trinity called Droicza, some miles from Moscow. The insurgents and their leader were racked alive; Galitzin was banished by the counsels of the Narishkins, and Czar Peter named his own uncle Leo Kirilowitz Narishkin, so often mentioned in this Diary, to be his prime minister.—TRANSL.

NOTES ON SOME RUSSIAN EMBASSIES TO LONDON.

Evelyn makes mention of three Russian Embassies that he saw in London. The first of these was in 1663, when he jots down in his Diary :

“27th Dec.—Went to London to see the
 “entrance of the Russian Ambassador, whom
 “his Majesty ordered to be received with much
 “state, the Emperor not only having been kind
 “to his Majesty in his distress, but banishing
 “all commerce with our nation during the
 “rebellion.

“ First, the city companies and trained bands
“ were all in their stations : his Majesty’s army
“ and guards in great order. His Excellency
“ came in a very rich coach, with some of his
“ chief attendants ; many of the rest on horse-
“ back, clad in their vests, after the Eastern
“ manner, rich furs, caps, and carrying the
“ presents, some carrying hawks, furs, teeth,
“ bows, &c. It was a very magnificent
“ show.”

Two days later Evelyn notes :

“ 29th.—Saw the audience of the Muscovy
“ Ambaffador, which was with extraordinary
“ state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in
“ vests of several colours, with buskins after the
“ Eastern manner ; their caps of fur ; tunics
“ richly embroidered with gold and pearls, made
“ a glorious show. The King being seated under
“ a canopy in the Banqueting House, the Secre-
“ tary of the Embassy went before the Ambaf-
“ fador in a grave march, holding up his master’s
“ letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarf
“ before his forehead. The Ambaffador then
“ delivered it with a profound reverence to the
“ King, who gave it to our Secretary of State :
“ it was written in a long and lofty style. Then
“ came in the presents, borne by 165 of his

“retinue, consisting of mantles, and other large
“pieces lined with sable, black fox and ermine;
“Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and
“velvet; hawks, such as they said never came
“the like; horses said to be Persian; bows and
“arrows, &c. These, borne by so long a train,
“rendered it very extraordinary. Wind music
“played all the while in the galleries above.
“This finished, the Ambassador was conveyed
“by the master of the ceremonies to York
“House, where he was treated with a banquet,
“which cost 200*l.*, as I was assured.”

On the 30th of May following, Evelyn saw
“the Ambassador take leave of their Majesties
“with great solemnity.”

This was the Embassy sent by the Czar to
congratulate Charles II. on his restoration:

“The Czar of Muscovy sent an Ambassador
“to compliment King Charles II. on his restora-
“tion. The King sent the Earl of Carlisle as his
“Ambassador to Moscow, to desire the re-estab-
“lishment of the ancient privileges of the English
“merchants at Archangel, which had been taken
“away by the Czar, who, abhorring the murder
“of the King’s father, accused them as favourers
“of it. But, by the means of the Czar’s mini-
“sters, his Lordship was very ill received, and met

“ with what he deemed affronts, and had no success
“ as to his demands, so that at coming away he
“ refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The
“ Czar sent an Ambassador to England to com-
“ plain of Lord Carlisle’s conduct ; but his Lord-
“ ship vindicated himself so well, that the King
“ told the Ambassador he saw no reason to con-
“ demn his Lordship’s conduct.”—[*Relation of the
Embassy by G. M., authenticated by Lord Carlisle,*
printed 1669.]

Again, in 1667, Evelyn saw a Russian Em-
bassy at Court, of which he thus speaks in his
Diary on the 28th August of that year :

“ In the afternoon . . . to the audience
“ of a Russian Envoy in the Queen’s Presence-
“ Chamber, introduced with much state, the
“ soldiers, pensioners, and guards in their order.
“ His letters of credence brought by his secretary
“ in a scarf of sarsenet, their vests sumptuous,
“ much embroidered with pearls. He delivered
“ his speech in the Russ language, but without
“ the least action or motion of his body, which
“ was immediately interpreted aloud by a German
“ that spake good English ; half of it consisted
“ in repetition of the Czar’s titles, which were
“ very haughty and Oriental: the substance of
“ the rest was, that he was only sent to see the

“King and Queen and know how they did, with
“much compliment and frothy language.”

Of the third Russian Embassy in England which Evelyn witnessed he thus speaks, A.D. 1682 :

“24th [November].—I was at the audience
“of the Russian Ambassador before both their
“Majesties in the Banqueting House. The
“presents were carried before him, held up by
“his followers in two ranks, before the King’s
“state, and consisted of tapestry (one suite of
“which was doubtlessly brought from France
“as being of that fabric, the Ambassador having
“passed through that kingdom as he came out
“of Spain), a large Persian carpet, furs of sable
“and ermine, &c. ; but nothing was so splendid
“and exotic as the Ambassador who came soon
“after the King’s restoration. This present
“Ambassador was exceedingly offended that his
“coach was not permitted to come into the
“Court, till, being told that no King’s Amba-
“sador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an
“attestation of it under the hand of Sir Charles
“Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies ; being,
“it seems, afraid he should offend his master if he
“omitted the least punctilio. It was reported he
“condemned his son to lose his head for shaving
“off his beard, and putting himself in the

“French mode at Paris, and that he would
“have executed it had not the French King
“interceded—but query of this.”

At the same time with this last-mentioned Russian Embassy there were also in London an Envoy from Morocco, with whose appearance, manners, and deportment, Evelyn was much struck. He describes him as a handsome person, well featured, of a wise look, subtle, and extremely civil. It was he that brought as presents ostriches and lions; which provoked the witty monarch to laugh, and say “he knew nothing
“more proper to send by way of return than a
“flock of geese.” Evelyn tells how he was “at
“the entertainment of the Morocco Ambassador
“at the Duchess of Portsmouth’s glorious apart-
“ments at Whitehall, where there was a great
“banquet of sweetmeats and music; but at
“which both the Ambassador and his retinue
“behaved themselves with extraordinary modera-
“tion and modesty, though placed about a long
“table, a lady between two Moors, and amongst
“these were the king’s natural children, namely,
“Lady Lichfield and Suffex, the Duchess of
“Portsmouth, Nelly, &c., concubines, and
“cattle of that sort, as splendid as jewels and
“excess of bravery could make them; the

“Moors neither admiring, nor seeming to regard anything, furniture or the like, with any earnestness, and but decently tasting of the banquet . . . did not look about or stare on the ladies, or express the least surprise, but with a courtly negligence in face, countenance, and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were asked with a great deal of wit and gallantry.” He tells further, how the Moor “went sometimes to the theatres, where, upon any foolish or fantastical action, he could not forbear laughing, but he endeavoured to hide it with extraordinary modesty and gravity. In a word, the Russian Ambassador, still at Court, behaved himself like a clown compared to this civil heathen.”—
TRANSL.

THE END.

March, 1863.

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